THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
IN THE
UNITED STATES

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NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

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THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES

The Seventy-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education

PART II

By
THE YEARBOOK COMMITTEE
and
ASSOCIATED CONTRIBUTORS

Edited by
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Burea[illegible] Edn. [illegible] Research
Dated 21·3·75
Acc. No. 2484

S.C.E.R.T., West Bengal
Date 21.3.75
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Library of Congress Catalog Number: 6-16938

Published 1973 by
THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637

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First Printing, 10,000 Copies

Printed in the United States of America

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Editor's Preface

The first chapter of the first yearbook (1895) of the National Herbart Society (the predecessor of the National Society for the Study of Education) was Charles de Garmo's "More Pressing Problems Concerning the Elementary Course of Study," and through five yearbooks of the Herbartians Frank McMurry, C. C. Van Liew, Elmer E. Brown, Charles A. McMurry, and others, along with William T. Harris, Colonel Parker, and the young John Dewey, addressed themselves to many problems of elementary education in treatises that reflected the major psychological and philosophic concerns of the day, such as concentration, perception, apperception, the doctrine of interest, and the educational theory of cultural epochs.

The National Society dropped the Herbartian overtones, but from its inception (1901) has continued to deal with many aspects and problems—some repeatedly—of elementary education. It has published yearbooks on the content and teaching of history, social studies, music, geography, manual arts, reading, art, arithmetic, language arts, nature study, and other subjects. It has devoted yearbooks to the gifted, the "exceptional," the delinquent, the retarded, and the disadvantaged. It has dealt with the organization, administration, and supervision of rural, urban, community, and special schools. It has not neglected the psychological, philosophical, and social bases of elementary education, and its volumes on curriculum, curriculum-making, measurement, and evaluation have shown due concern for all educational levels.

However, the Society has never devoted a yearbook to the elementary school similar to those published on preschooling, the kindergarten, the junior high school, and the junior college. Yearbooks on these enterprises appeared at times when they were not fully accepted or when reasoned statements based upon available evidence were likely to influence important decisions on their acceptance or in relation to their organization and function. No one suggested that the elementary school be accorded like treatment. This institution, more than any other, touched directly or indirectly the lives of all persons; it was taken for granted, its permanence was not questioned; and, firmly fixed in the affections of the American people, it was seemingly challenged only to do better what it was doing.

The situation changed in the 1960s. The elementary school came under heavy attack, not only by those who sought to be modern Rousseaus and those whose compassion exceeded their judgment, but also by discerning and knowledgeable scholars having no personal interests in the school's failure. All pointed to the fact that the school was not achieving its traditional and other legitimate goals, to say nothing of its failure to discharge all the functions which, in the absence of other viable agencies, had accrued to it and which were, rightly or wrongly, being rapidly expanded by government and by the demands of growing segments of the citizenry.

This volume was not written as an apology for or a defense of the elementary school. Among the authors are some of its most telling and influential critics whose solutions to its problems are not mere specifications for patch jobs, and the alternatives which they offer will not be examined or accepted without pain by many people. But the volume contains no self-defeating proposals. None of the authors has retreated to deschooling or to any simplistic position arising from despair or other emotional states.

John I. Goodlad and Harold G. Shane, coeditors of the volume, the Society's Committee on the Elementary School, and the associated contributors have provided a splendid example of the wisdom of the truism that if there is a difficult task that must be well done, the busiest persons should be asked to do it, and they should be urged to meet an early deadline. Collectively, they have prepared a book that does not offer comfort or support to those who seek, selfishly or nostalgically, to avoid change, or to those who appear to have little understanding of either past or present, but one which should have a remarkable impact upon efforts to achieve for all children a living education.

HERMAN G. RICHEY
Editor for the Society

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Introduction

JOHN I. GOODLAD
and
HAROLD G. SHANE

Viewed from a worldwide perspective, the elementary school has been and is an exceedingly significant institution. In quantitative terms it enrolls the largest percentage of the age group served, absorbs the largest proportion of money spent on formal education, and brings the largest return from this educational investment to both the state and the individual. Depending on how one defines it, one might argue that adult education enrolls more people. Even if this be true, however, adult education is much less institutionalized, is spread over many more years of life, and usually does not fill so many of the learner's working hours. In qualitative terms the elementary school educates during the most critical, formative years. While the earlier years of life are even more formative, they are as yet much less permeated by schooling. Yet, ironically, despite its significance, our grasp of the precise workings and effects of the elementary school and of how to make it more effective is still quite primitive.

Furthermore, the elementary school is a neglected institution in a number of respects. It receives a disproportionately small share of the total educational budget in countries with reasonably well-developed systems of secondary and higher education. As a group, elementary school teachers often have less formal education and earn lower salaries than their counterparts at higher levels in the system. Also, large segments of the population view teaching in elementary schools as inappropriate for men, an attitude that has contributed to depressed salaries. Finally, many people believe that no extensive preparation is required for teaching younger learners; yet at the same time, they often join in the increasingly frequent outcries against the school's assumed failure to teach this or that adequately. These views, no doubt, have contributed to our general failure to take the elementary school more seriously as a fertile realm for research. Health and technological needs, on the other hand, have been taken much more seriously as realms for research-based development.

In spite of the neglect of and low status often accorded to the elementary school, the human interest surrounding it, especially when expressed in the rhetoric of criticism and political activity, has been considerable. It is the school "closest to the people"—a point reflected in the fact that parents' attendance at parent-teacher meetings falls off rapidly when their children go on to high school. Since the nation's founding, it has been a natural place to look for explanations of and miraculous cures for society's ills. As a result, state legislatures in the United States, for example, propose and pass thousands of bills pertaining to every segment of the curriculum and classroom activity. Some of this legislation is designed to prevent juvenile delinquency, some to reduce automobile accidents, and some to prevent alcoholism or drug abuse. Politicians have learned that the schools provide more grist for their mills when they can be portrayed as ineffective and inefficient institutions, rather than as a potent, formative, and positive educational force.

Preceding paragraphs have described the elementary school as significant, neglected, inadequately researched, and high in human interest—a cluster of qualities that eminently qualifies it for debate and analysis. Indeed, it seems remarkable that the elementary school as a social institution has not heretofore been the topic of a yearbook by the National Society for the Study of Education. (In fairness, it must be acknowledged that chapters of other yearbooks have addressed themselves to it and various segments of the school thus have come under scrutiny.) Perhaps the neglect was in part attributable to an implicit assumption: namely, that the elementary school is a significant, permanent institution. The need, therefore, is not to question it but to improve it—hence the attention in other yearbooks to ingredients such as reading, arithmetic, social studies, and the like, in the education of boys and girls.

In recent years, this implicit assumption of the elementary school's significance and permanence has been sharply questioned.

The accompanying debate has ranged from charges of academic impotence or of tedium and irrelevance to charges of inhumane manipulation or outright neglect and mistreatment of children. The most extreme critics see neither the hope of salvation nor any way of reforming this institution and propose its dissolution—that is, that society be deschooled.

A body such as the NSSE, committed to scholarly inquiry into the goals, problems, and issues of education, simply could not ignore this rapidly spreading concern and alarm over one of our most basic institutions. As a result, our committee was charged with producing a yearbook in a relatively short period of time. As one looks over the chapters that follow, it is not surprising that certain themes emerge repeatedly, regardless of the title of the chapter. Among these are the steadily enlarging functions of the school; the school's role in bringing about not only equality of educational opportunity but also equality in society; the need for clarifying authority and responsibility in administrative decision-making structures; measures for aligning the school's curriculum and organization with both advances in knowledge and changes in society; the need to find an appropriate synthesis of humanistic and behavioristic traditions, and the assumptions and methods they reflect. Many of the authors also touched directly or indirectly on the deschooling issue. Almost all of them propose alternatives to present ways of conducting schooling and some of them propose to depart quite radically from what we have previously done. But none of the authors proposes the complete deschooling of society.

There is no need to preview here the organization of the yearbook or the content of individual chapters since the table of contents makes both of these quite clear. In keeping with past practices —now established as policy simply through repetition—the yearbook has drawn upon authors long identified with the field of elementary education as well as introduced several newcomers from whom much more will be heard. These range from educators with forty or more years of experience to several in their early years of college or university teaching. We are grateful to all of them for working with us and appreciate particularly their responding to an exceedingly tight writing and production schedule. Mrs. Judith Golub contributed far more than what usually is implied by "editorial assistance": making valuable suggestions for the ordering of chapters, rearranging content, and editing manuscripts at all stages of development. We thank Herman G. Richey and Helen Howe for their meticulous work on the final copy.

The National Society for the Study of Education recognizes with thanks the contribution of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, where Mr. Goodlad was a fellow throughout 1971-72. This timely fellowship undoubtedly facilitated progress on the manuscript, which occupied a considerable share of our attention during the year.

SECTION I

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER I

The Elementary School As a Social Institution

JOHN I. GOODLAD

Introduction

In metropolitan centers all over the world, a scene repeats itself each morning, usually between the hours of eight and nine. Talking, laughing, sometimes screaming, children between the ages of five or six and twelve to fourteen leave their homes to walk, run, cycle, or bus to the "common" school. This school is variously known as the graded, grammar, primary, or, most frequently today, elementary school. It is estimated that from four out of seven to three out of five of the world's children attend it, more commonly and for longer periods of time in urban than in rural areas and in so-called developed than in developing or underdeveloped countries.

The buildings they enter are more alike than unlike in country after country, differing more from the city to the small agricultural settlement in one country than from city to city between countries. The two- and three-story stucco, brick, or wood structures surrounded by flat spaces of asphalt, concrete, dirt, or grass are easily recognized as schools in Tel-Aviv, Detroit, Sao Paulo, or Berlin. So are the few remaining one-room structures of Appalachia or the fifty thousand or more of them throughout rural India. Only a few of the sleek, new, one-story "open space" schools found occasionally in a handful of industrialized countries might lead one to ask, "Is it a health center, an electronics firm, a public library, or a school?" In some modern schools, even the telltale rows of windows are missing. But there is no mistaking "school" when the children come tumbling out for recess—perhaps the most common feature (and the most enjoyed!) of schools everywhere.

Once inside, the children more often than not go to box-like rooms located on either side of corridors. Here they are seated in rows of single desks or tables with from twenty-five to forty others, though in parts of Iran or Nigeria it could be sixty or even eighty. Even before starting school, they have internalized a set of expectations—to be quiet most of the time, to respond when spoken to or questioned (by the teacher, that is), and to come and go in an orderly fashion. Daily events follow a rather predictable schedule and structure: certain lessons succeed others, most are constructed for and followed by the total class, 60 percent or more of lesson time is teacher talk or teacher-to-pupil-to-teacher talk, and much time is devoted to seatwork and other routine activities.

There are differences from country to country, of course: in kind and amount of materials, physical space, decisions left to teachers, aspects of pupil behavior, and the like. Educators who have visited schools and classrooms around the world sometimes speak of differences in teacher involvement, in respect for or love of children, and in pupil attitude toward their lessons. The evidence is slim, however, and impressions may be more a factor of selective visitation than of general differences. Details differ; the broad contours are more similar than different.

Organizational patterns remain much the same throughout the world. Daily work closely follows prescribed syllabi or textbooks, is laid out for a year at a time, and each year constitutes a grade. Usually, there are six grades, but sometimes the elementary school extends downward to include kindergarten and upward as far as grade nine. Movement from grade to grade is virtually automatic in some countries, but in others retention in grades is so extensive that six years in school represent the completion of only three or four grades. Anachronistic policies and standards of nonpromotion, ironically, deprive some countries of the levels of literacy their elementary schools supposedly exist to achieve.

Until recently, much of what has been characteristic of elementary schooling worldwide went unquestioned. The very degree of similarity which emerged was in part a result of rather blindly copying countries with universal elementary schooling. What was good enough for the haves was even better for the have-nots, as educational practices of the colonizers became the educational practices of the colonized, however inappropriate they may have been. And then those rising to power through these systems stubbornly retained them long after the colonizers had left.

But a revolution is taking place—more of the spirit than of substance, admittedly, but change is difficult and will follow the spirit in due course of time. Part of it is as basic as beginning with the national language and later introducing French or English or some other language. In Malaysia, as in some other countries, the process of establishing a national identity in part through the elementary schools has been accompanied by formidable problems and even grave crises. The commitment to universal schooling in some countries is of itself revolutionary. In India, it calls for an expansion in educational costs from 2.9 percent of the GNP in 1965 to 6 percent in 1985. The long-term educational goals of some African countries are equally staggering.[1] In most developing countries the need is to get children into school and keep them there, to secure and train enough teachers of reasonable quality, and to reduce the size of classes.

The countries of Africa, Andean South America, and Southeast Asia can be interested in the innovations of developed countries only if these offer some promise of resolving qualitative problems more efficiently and economically. Few do. There has been and is a kind of revolution in the organization, curriculum, and instruction of elementary schools in England, the Soviet Union, Sweden, the United States, and other countries. This has been directed to changing the relationship between the years of elementary and secondary schools (4-4-4 plans instead of 6-3-3, for example), updating outmoded curricular content, or shifting from large-group to small-group or individualized instruction. But these do not necessarily make elementary schools more efficient or economical; there is little research to reveal whether children learn more or less in the changed schools. In fact, with respect to recent innovations, there is little research to show whether new practices even exist or whether old labels have simply been replaced by new ones.

One of the most recent proposals, voiced more in the United States than elsewhere, and which is least comprehensible in countries struggling to get more children into school, is that there be no school at all! In this country, the process of deschooling would take us full cycle, from almost unquestioning faith in the common school to viewing the school as it has emerged as an impediment to individual and perhaps even national welfare.[2] Little wonder that the proposal has brought forth impassioned antagonists.[3]

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[1] Philip H. Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

The subject of this yearbook is the elementary school in the United States and its incredible growth, evolution, and even its proposed demise. Succeeding chapters focus on the institution—its formation, shaping ideas and forces, functions, internal structure and program, current problems, pressures for and processes of change, and prospects for the future. This chapter seeks to provide a broad overview of this institution, drawing to some degree from other countries to provide perspective.

Education and the Role of Schooling

Education and schooling are not the same thing. *Education* is a never ending process of developing characteristic ways of thinking and behaving on the part of individuals and groups and even nations and, for that matter, mankind. Each generation has access to a heritage from which to derive perspective. Depending on a country's stage of development, each generation is shaped by books, magazines, and newspapers; by movies and television; and by a kaleidoscopic array of events and stimuli which are part of everyday life. All of these are educative, for better or for worse. *Schooling* is a relatively planned and ordered but not necessarily the most influential part of education.

When we speak of the educational *system* of a country, we immediately turn to its schools, and this is the usual referent when the authors of this yearbook speak of "the educational system." However, the educational system is the entire mélange of inputs or potential inputs into the shaping process[4]—usually in disarray, often discordant, sometimes innocuous, frequently subtly influential. Taken together, all of these occupy much more time than schooling.

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[2] Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

[3] For a series of essays, pro and con, see Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, eds., *Farewell to Schools???* Contemporary Educational Issues, National Society for the Study of Education (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971).

[4] For a short, insightful analysis of the education vs. schooling distinction, see Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education*, Horace Mann Lecture (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965).

It is quite inappropriate, therefore, to evaluate the educational system by looking at the schools alone.

The home is probably the most powerful educational institution, especially during the first twelve years or so of life. In these critical years the home gets prime time. The peer group likewise is powerful, especially during the adolescent years when it intensifies the individual drive for independence, sometimes contributing to a distinct division of home, peer group, and school into three divergent forces. When puberty replaces latency, in the view of some psychoanalysts, the chance to teach anybody anything is vastly diminished. Certainly with the onset of adolescence, the pulling together of home and school for common educational goals is decreased and sometimes fades away almost completely.

Technology is an increasingly important part of the educational system. Often it adds a new medium to the old, as when spectators at a baseball game in Japan or the United States watch and listen simultaneously, thanks to the omnipresent transistor radio. It adds a new dimension to home study when students watch television or listen to the record player while doing homework. We know little about the effects of this multimedia input. Does it add a new dimension? Does it interfere? Does it contribute to a state of agitation?

Once again, we see the significance of the early years in the context of the home. In most developed and developing countries, radio or television or both provide powerful substantive stimuli for years before schooling begins and for hours each day following entry into school. What is their impact—on knowledge, values, attitude, temperament, character formation? Such studies that we do have are inadequate and inconclusive. There would seem to be little doubt, however, that these first twelve years or so of life, with home and school and in varying degree other educative forces impinging on children's lives, are of enormous educational significance. Assumptions and specific evidence regarding this significance are entered from time to time throughout the chapters of this yearbook. For half of these years, about three out of five of the world's children spend fifteen to thirty hours per week, thirty to forty weeks per year, under the influence of the elementary school.

The time occupied by elementary schooling is brief, actually. Perhaps we should not expect a great deal from the schools, especially if the preschool years are so powerfully formative, as is now widely believed. The data of the so-called Coleman report have been widely cited to support, among other things, the thesis that the schools do not make much difference.[5] In addition, Husén provides data drawn primarily from cross-national studies conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement that suggest the lack of any clear linear relationship between time spent in school and academic achievement.[6] Mathematical performance at the age of fourteen does not appear to be increased either by beginning school at the age of five rather than six or by having a high rather than a low weekly average of instructional hours in mathematics. But, as Husén himself points out, the evidence is conflicting, and both the total length of the exposure to mathematics and other school-directed activity such as homework do seem to make a difference.

Conversely, there are those who believe passionately that schools do make a difference—a negative, dehumanizing difference. The doleful titles of some of the books written in the United States during the sixties—*Compulsory Mis-Education* (1964), *Our Children Are Dying* (1966), and *The Classroom Disaster* (1969), to name just a few—suggest the nature of the criticisms: Schools curb thinking to the point of being anti-intellectual, condemn children to years of inhumane incarceration, and fail to challenge or stimulate. The suggestions for remedying these assumed conditions have ranged from "personalized" education to abolition of all schools (see chapters 5 and 9, in particular, for further discussion). However, those who would abolish schools have not satisfied their critics as to viable alternatives. Cremin poses the question sharply and points to at least one of the dilemmas:

> . . . when Ivan Illich demands that we "deschool" society entirely, I am inclined to ask, "To do what in place of schooling?" . . . and as for Illich's view that the realities of the slum should be permitted to educate the poor to the truths of the world, I would prefer to take my

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[5] James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966).

[6] Torsten Husén, "Does More Time in School Make a Difference?" *Saturday Review* (April 29, 1972): 32-35.

cues from the slum parents I have talked to, who want not less schooling for their children but rather more and better schooling.[7]

It would appear that many of those condemning the schools as inhumane and recommending their abolition are romanticizing other agencies in our society. Child beating is still a main cause of serious injury and death after childbirth among children in the United States. Child labor laws have been passed in part to protect children against exploitation by both parents and industry. It is not yet a benign world "out there." Though the schools may not provide an adequately humane environment either, compared with alternatives available to date their record is surprisingly good, given the magnitude of the responsibility for physical safety alone. The world out there probably will not be equally supportive for decades to come—until education, including schooling, makes it so. To make all of our educational agencies *positively* educative is a major challenge of our time.

This last statement returns us to the observation that schools provide only a part of the educational process and that the role of schools must be differentiated from that of other potentially educative agencies. Instead of being confronted with the school/no school choice—which for most people appears to be no choice at all—we can consider the possibility of choosing among alternative agencies according to the purpose to be achieved. These include farms, business, factories, churches, neighborhood organizations, programmed instructional kits, television, radio, and the like.

It often is assumed that alternatives to schooling are the privilege only of developed, affluent countries—a luxury to be afforded only by those individuals, groups, or nations who already have profited maximally from schools. But persuasive arguments are emerging to the effect that if developing countries do not look to alternatives in addition to schools, they will continue for indefinite periods of time to have massive illiteracy and an unskilled work force. LaBelle, for example, argues the case for Latin America, pointing out that although 75 percent of the population of elementary school–age children was in school in 1965, 38 percent of the total was found in the first grade.[8] Such figures represent staggering dropout rates. The picture in selected countries is even more startling. In Guatemala, only 47.8 percent of the eligible population is in primary school. This country spends thirty-five dollars per child per year, which is 10 percent of per capita income, on schooling, and the population growth rate is 3.2 percent. LaBelle quotes a Guatemalan as saying, "I think we can venture a judgment that it would take not less than fifty years and not less than four times what we are spending now to give each one of the children in the present population an education in the formal system." [9]

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[7] Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Ecology of American Education," *New York University Educational Quarterly* 3 (Spring 1972): 3.

Given such conditions, LaBelle sees implementation of alternatives such as those suggested above as absolutely essential, with some of them having to be taken to clusters of individuals scattered throughout rural areas. He sees the schools as so overburdened with functions that they satisfy neither individuals nor society. They will have to be buttressed with other agencies and institutions if problems such as those confronting many Latin American countries are to be relieved in a reasonable period of time. Deliberate utilization of an array of educational alternatives forces us to a consideration of functions which are and should be performed by elementary schools.

Functions of the Elementary School

When one asks elementary school teachers around the world about the functions of the schools in which they teach, they say that they want their pupils to learn to read, write, and spell, to develop certain traits thought to be relevant to earning a living, to get along with others. Certainly, providing opportunities for children to acquire such competencies is one of the functions performed by schools and the one to which they appear to be devoting most of their time. But viewed from the perspective of how they serve society, they perform many other functions, too: keeping children in or out of the labor market; custodial care to make it possible for mothers to work outside the home or pursue personal interests; sorting and selecting for social roles; impeding or facilitating the power of organized religions, political parties, and ruling classes or individuals; and providing jobs for considerable numbers and types of employees. As leaders of the deschooling movement well know, to speak of doing away with the school is to speak not merely of having basic skills taught elsewhere, but also of complicating or eliminating its use for these other functions.

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[8] Thomas J. LaBelle, "Educational Alternatives: Crisis in the Hemisphere," *UCLA Educator* 14 (Spring 1972): 9.

[9] Ibid.

These several functions and more intermesh in complex ways, extend out into the larger community where they intermesh in turn with very similar functions performed elsewhere. The school is a social system interacting with other social systems. Changes in one function affect other functions, sometimes in very subtle ways and often stirring unexpected forces of resistance. For example, local residents may suddenly object to the design of a new building with a vehemence that seems out of proportion to their aesthetic concerns. Such resistance is puzzling until one encounters the local builders who are not skilled in the new construction techniques required and fear exclusion from employment. Those who would change schools fundamentally should have insight into the social system of the school; they should "know the territory" (see chapter 14). Ecological principles apply since, in effect, in something as complex and interrelated as education it simply is impossible to change one thing at a time.

We have seen that a major function of the elementary school has been and is the development of full literacy in a people or nation. This function often has been closely related to development of a national identity. We see this clearly in the state of Israel where less than a year and a half after the achievement of independence in 1948, the Compulsory Education Law was passed, providing compulsory education for all children from age five to thirteen.[10] The role of the Hebrew language in the establishment of the state's identity and its corollary teaching in the schools was clear to Israel's founding fathers.

What is a necessity at one time in a nation's development may be a hindrance at another. A colonized state in order to promote national identity may get rid of English, French, or German soon after gaining independence but might need it later when achievement of international commerce becomes a next step in maturation. The curriculum must be pared in one area to provide room for the second language. All of these stages and accompanying changes create almost inestimable repercussions—some gain power, others lose it; one publishing company profits at the expense of another; additional supervisors are employed in the new field; teaching positions are both created and abolished.

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[10] Aharon F. Kleinberger, *Society, Schools and Progress in Israel* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 116.

Let us look at a few additional functions served by elementary schools, keeping in mind always that although the nature of basic functions to be served changes relatively slowly, the need for adjustments to meet changing societal conditions can occur very quickly, especially in modern industrialized societies. The functions being served and to be served by elementary schools are worthy of continuous scrutiny by a society and especially by its policy-makers.

One of several critical functions to be examined is that of the school's contribution to the economy of a country. Viewing schools in terms of financial output rather than input only is a rather new concept. Benson (in chapter 8) points out that financing of elementary education constitutes our second largest expenditure in the United States. Nonetheless, according to Schultz, it also appears to produce the greatest return to the individual and the GNP when compared with other levels of the educational system.[11]

Investment in elementary education appears to increase national income. Such a conclusion should not be interpreted to mean, however, that putting more money into elementary schooling or maintaining present ratios of expenditures among elementary, secondary, and higher education is necessarily the best way to distribute financial resources for education. In some countries it may be desirable to decrease dependence on talent from outside by expanding secondary or higher education or both, even at the cost of delaying attainment of universal elementary schooling. In developed countries which have attained universal elementary schooling, there comes a point where the quality returns from merely providing more funds are at best intangible and the relationship between increased financial input and output is less clear. At this stage of development, in particular, innovations have been singularly ineffective to date in changing the input-output relationship.

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[11] Theodore W. Schultz, "Human Capital: Policy Issues and Research Opportunities" (Manuscript prepared for and to be published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, 1972), p. 36.

The time has come in the United States to examine the economic aspects of the elementary school within a complex frame, which includes comprehensive examination of the educational function of this level of schooling and how it is being fulfilled. For example, there has been much talk about a closer relationship between the schools and industry, but recent attempts to relate the two reveal a singular inability to think of education beyond the school. Instead of "performance contracting" to industry (which has been disappointing to date), we should be looking critically at functions the school has assumed by default which now might be assumed by other community agencies—businesses, health offices, libraries, among others. Industry might simply take over a major part of career education, instruction in basic economic concepts, and citizenship training with minimal additional costs and perhaps governmental subsidies. These and other alternatives have been pursued in some depth in the reports of national commissions and other groups.[12]

Any serious study of school costs must examine the utilization of personnel, since staff salaries account for two-thirds or more of the operating costs of schools in most countries. This could mean increasing the pupil-teacher ratio but not the pupil-adult ratio through the inclusion of paraprofessionals, aides, and parent volunteers; preparing a small corps of highly trained personnel to coordinate a team, which could include persons in places outside the school as well as new personnel coming into the school; turning over part of the educational process to self-instructional electronic devices; or even shortening the total time spent in school.[13] These and other ideas have been proposed, but few have been tried in any careful, controlled way. Many of them fly in the face of those stated goals of segments of the organized teaching profession which call for a fully qualified professional teacher (whatever that means) in each classroom of twenty-five pupils.[14]

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[12] See, for example, President's Commission on School Finance, *Schools, People, and Money: The Need for Educational Reform* (Washington, D.C.: President's Commission on School Finance, 1972).

[13] For a review of these and other proposals, see John I. Goodlad and Associates, *Schooling for the Future*, Report of the President's Commission on School Finance, ED 058 497 (Bethesda, Md.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 1971).

Clearly, improving the quality of an established educational system will not be accomplished merely through the infusion of more funds. The application of funds to critical points of leverage in the system is essential, but it is equally essential that intervention for improvement be guided by a clear view of the school as a system interacting with other systems. Change must be both comprehensive and systematic, not merely an innovation added here or there (see chapter 14).

Just as some proposals for the utilization of personnel are threatening to the teaching profession, some proposals for financing the schools are threatening to segments of the population at large. Many of these grow out of still another function allocated in part to schools, that of providing equality of opportunity in a democratic society. These are dealt with by Benson (chapter 8) and by Scribner and Knox (chapter 13) and require no further elaboration here. The problems are of caste and class, complicated by racial differences and by the very prejudices even extensive schooling has failed to eradicate. Just as the elementary school has served to sustain these problems, it is now being called upon to ameliorate or compensate for profound inequities in the surrounding society.[15] Many question the wisdom of adding such burdens to the elementary school; others say that for the school to eschew such a function is to neglect its basic responsibility. Since Horace Mann we have come a long way in a very short time, but it is likely that he and at least a few other founding fathers of the common school would comprehend the need to adapt the school to the requirements of the time. We turn soon in this yearbook to Otto's (chapter 2) and Cohen's (chapter 3) analyses of the roots of these and other problems.

Another traditional function of elementary schooling, referred to earlier, lies somewhat at the fringes of current analysis but promises soon to move toward the center with accompanying profound repercussions. This is the changing role of the school in advancing national identity. Individual nations are part of a world community, each dependent in various ways on the others. This has been clear to the traders of the world for a long time.[16] It is clear also to ecologists and to those who would make peace. No individual, nation, or people is an island unto itself. There is growing awareness that the problems of our time are mankind problems.[17]

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[14] John I. Goodlad, "What Educational Decisions by Whom?" *Science Teacher* 38 (May 1971): 4.

[15] For analysis of some of the corollary issues and problems, see Special Issue on Equal Educational Opportunity, *Harvard Educational Review* 38 (Winter 1968).

The fact that a mankind perspective and mankind solutions are required for peace, control of the world's population growth, and the abatement of poverty and pollution raises troublesome issues for the elementary school. Many countries, comprising the bulk of the world's population, are not yet ready to devote precious resources to a school commitment beyond largely parochial interests and national goals. Few, if any, nations are prepared to condone unbridled classroom inquiry into conflicting ideologies without at least providing powerful antidotes elsewhere in the program. And yet, the future of all nations and mankind itself depends on a large degree of national self-transcendence. Mankind thinking, commitments, processes, and activities will be even more important for today's children than for today's adults. What role should their schools be playing? Is is possible, for example, to develop both a sense of identity with one's country and to transcend it in recognition of the overarching importance of mankind? And to which loyalties does one look when conflicts between the two inevitably occur? [18] Such questions cannot be ignored in considering the functions and programs of the contemporary, evolving elementary school.

Societies can ill afford the functions actually being fulfilled by

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16. See essays in Bert Hoselitz, ed., *Economics and the Idea of Mankind* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

17. The idea of mankind, once again attracting a substantial corps of believers, has waxed and waned throughout man's often narcissistic history. See W. Warren Wagar, ed., *History and the Idea of Mankind* (Albuquerque, N. Mex.: University of New Mexico Press, 1971). For reference to the mankind perspective as it affects and challenges the elementary school, see Judith V. Torney and Donald N. Morris, *Global Dimensions in U.S. Education: The Elementary School* (New York: New York Friends Group, 1972).

18. These and similar issues are discussed in John I. Goodlad and Associates, *Toward a Mankind School: An Adventure in Humanistic Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.), forthcoming.

their schools to remain unexamined, and yet few have developed mechanisms for adjusting policies in the light of systematic analysis. Likewise, none can afford not to subject to continuous scrutiny the means of fulfilling commitments consciously made. To remain the same is to become anachronistic, sometimes leading to revolutionary solutions. A case in point pertains to the way in which the elementary schools of the United States perform the function of selecting and sorting. There is a growing discrepancy between the concept of educational opportunity assumed in the second half of the nineteenth century and the reality of equal educational opportunity today. Then, equal educational opportunity embraced the following:

1. Providing a *free* education up to a given level which constituted the principal entry point to the labor force
2. Providing a *common curriculum* for all children, regardless of background
3. Partly by design and partly because of low population density, providing that children from diverse backgrounds attend the *same school*
4. Providing equality within a given *locality*, since local taxes provided the source of support for schools[19]

All of these principles recently have been called sharply to question, some for their validity, some for obvious discrepancies regarding fulfillment, some for both. The data on continuing inequities in opportunities for schooling have been around for some time and more are piling up. But, in some areas, for example, the realm of gross inequalities in financing the schools through local property taxes, there have not been significant responses in the form of conscious policy formation and enlightened social engineering. It becomes apparent that this issue must be forced to the forefront through court action.[20]

Similarly, the primary educational functions of schools and ways of fulfilling them become calcified, not necessarily because of failure

[19] James S. Coleman, "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," *Harvard Educational Review* 28 (Winter 1968): 11. Italicized portions are Coleman's.

[20] Supreme Court, State of California, *Serrano* v. *Priest*, August 30, 1971 (96 California Reporter).

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to envision more appropriate goals or because of the unavailability of better means. Rather, much to the frustration of persons inside and outside the schools who would change them, the alternative ends and means simply fail to make their way into the system. Changes are inordinately threatening to most of those for whom they are intended. The moment the tribal witch doctor was challenged by evidence regarding repeated failure of the rain dance to produce rain, he stirred the tribe to more vigorous rain dancing. But the damage was done and the rain dance ultimately became a colorful ceremony designed to hold the tribe together through the ties of tradition—a latent function it had served long before revelation of its nonutility in regard to watering parched fields.

We must be alert constantly to the ever present danger that much of what goes on in schools easily can become little more than ceremonial rain dances. A certain amount of such ceremony is good for the health of all social institutions so long as it does not take too much time and money, thus interfering with primary functions, and is not destructive of groups and individuals. This is why our elementary schools must be continuously analyzed and consciously shaped. Evidence that we have not done so and are not doing so adequately is worldwide and compelling.

Shaping the Elementary School: Societal Policy

Until a true world community exists, it must be left to each country to shape its elementary schools in the light of that country's developmental status, current problems, resources, and the hopes and aspirations of its people. The key decisions are those that establish educational goals and programs to attain them. The data sources to be drawn upon are similar in each country, although the specific data and the goals and programs derived from them differ country by country. Although the need for maintaining systematic procedures for appraising social conditions and trends and for sorting out relevant knowledge about learning and developmental processes of children appears patently obvious, the absence of *continuous* planning and updating of the curriculum has been endemic in most countries.

It would be incorrect to say that the program of the elementary school has not been taken seriously. On the contrary, it has been

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used by dictators, governments, patriotic groups, parent coalitions, professional organizations, and commercial enterprises for every conceivable end. The curriculum is squeezed, pulled, and patched, and then the patches are repatched. When things appear to be unusually amiss or the elementary school needs a good shaking, special commissions (such as the Plowden Commission in England which stimulated reform in the much observed infant schools) or task forces (such as a long series of Presidential Task Forces in the United States) are set up to study the problems and make recommendations. Usually, they must establish a professional/technical staff or commission reports by experts to secure needed data, because even some of the most obviously relevant data simply are not organized and collated on a continuing basis. There are data, of course—files and files of data. But these are not gathered and arranged in the light of some basic questions leading to policy decisions that must be made over and over again.

Policy decisions are made, nonetheless. In the United States, state legislators introduce literally thousands of bills annually pertaining to what shall be taught for what amounts of time and in what ways, often without knowing and sometimes without appearing to care about previous, often conflicting legislation or about the effects of past legislation or the need for new.[21] One might well ask whether these are the kinds of decisions about which legislators can become adequately informed and whether, in fact, they should be making them at all, especially when so many other and seemingly more appropriate decisions pertaining to the scope and direction of elementary schooling, equal educational opportunity, and adequate support for schooling urgently require attention. Although it is widely agreed in this country that legislators, school board members, administrators, teachers, parents, and—yes—students have parts to play in the total array of decisions shaping elementary schools, there is precious little clarification of who should decide what. As a consequence, the school frequently is shaped by happenstance rather than by design and commission.

There are signs, however, that steps increasingly are being taken by some countries to fill the void in systematic, rational processes of top level policy-making with respect to the ends and means of elementary schooling. For example, Asiatic countries, with UNESCO support, have held periodic conferences to share data on progress toward universal elementary schooling, setting goals for subsequent years, and then have reconvened to assess progress toward these goals. In 1967, through the National Institute for Educational Research in Tokyo, they launched a monumental study to secure data for curriculum planning. This study, again financially supported by UNESCO, sought to identify stated goals for elementary education in each country, the expression of these goals in actual programs, and the gap between the two.[22]

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[21] One study shows that state legislators know no more than teachers, which is little in both cases, about legislation on the books pertaining to daily instruction in classrooms, while continuing to pass such legislation. See Henry Willis Hill, "Curriculum Legislation and Decision-Making for the Instructional Level" (Ed.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970).

Also, in recent years, countries scattered throughout the world have created centers for determining curricular needs and planning new materials and procedures. However, much of this work is in its infancy. Many of the curriculum centers or planning units in ministries of education control only a segment of the action. Sometimes, responsibility is divided among departments or divisions which are protective of their own interests. These, in turn, stratify and specify the schools' curriculum to the point that the schools are virtually powerless to change or innovate. This is why some critics despair of reforming the schools and see their dissolution as a necessary preliminary step to wide-scale fresh approaches to education. Most of these bureaucratic structures have not yet been confronted by such radical proposals but, given the murmurings in many quarters, this may lie ahead. Teacher education, which is so vital to the substance of real curriculum change, is beyond the control of most curriculum centers. In fact, some centers are cut off from everything but planning and producing new materials, largely in the form of textbooks.

In the summer of 1971, the first International Seminar for Advanced Training in Curriculum Development and Innovation met for a six-week period in Gränna, Sweden.[23] Motivated largely by

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[22] A series of reports on this work has been prepared and released by the National Institute for Educational Research of Japan, 6-5-22 Shimomeguro, Meguro-ku, Tokyo.

[23] The seminar was conducted under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, with headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and financed by several foundations and agencies.

realization of the need for systematic, data-based curriculum planning, twenty-three countries sent teams of from four to six curriculum planners or directors to attend the seminar. The participants explored virtually every conceivable issue in curriculum development; worked out plans for making existing curriculum centers more effective or for creating such centers where none existed; studied processes of rational curriculum planning; and wrote curriculum plans for school systems, individual schools, or various subject fields. Specialists in elementary education were in unanimous agreement regarding three fundamental needs in their countries: first, clarification of those decisions that should be made on a nation-wide basis and those that should be left to local authorities and individual teachers; second, creation of structures to assure fulfillment of appropriate responsibilities at each level; and, third, coordination of all segments required for effective change—production of materials, training of leadership personnel in procedures and techniques of change, and training of teachers in the new pedagogy accompanying curriculum revision.

There was agreement among all participants at Gränna that the time was ripe for international exchange. As this yearbook goes to press, plans are being laid for creating an international curriculum organization for purposes of facilitating this exchange, stimulating curriculum planning in the cooperating countries, and studying persistent problems arising simultaneously in regions or clusters of countries. These persistent problems are surprisingly alike from country to country, at least in their general contours, partly denying the popular assumption that the problems are unique. But even if the problems were markedly different, countries have much to gain by sharing in the processes of systematic planning.

In regard to process, the work of the Commission on Educational Planning of Alberta, Canada, is sufficiently exemplar to warrant considerable description here. Beginning its work in 1969, "the Commission has been viewed as an instrument for mobilizing the time, talents and energies of Albertans in designing a system of schooling that will be a bridge to tomorrow." [24] In preparing its report—not a blueprint but "leverage points for influencing the direction and pace of change"[25]—the commission drew upon literally hundreds of individuals, organizations, and consultants from Alberta, from the rest of Canada, and from other countries. In its deliberations, it used studies relevant to its purposes conducted by the Human Resources Research Council, a province-wide agency for policy studies.

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[24] Walter H. Worth, in the Introduction to *A Choice of Futures*, Report of the Commission on Educational Planning (Edmonton, Alberta: Cabinet Committee on Education, 1972).

The report begins with social forecasts for the last third of this century. These include the declining influence of marriage and the family, religious institutions, and the work ethic; growing emphasis upon generosity, sincerity, and service in human relationships; mounting tension between major groups in society; increasing potential for social unrest; and growing need for governmental regulation in interpersonal and intergroup relations. It makes clear that the future, in large part, can be made to happen through a multiplicity of decisions being made and to be made—though many are made blindly, with little thought to their long-term consequences. Significantly, unlike many similar bodies, the commission was not content with mere enumeration of alternative choices among values to guide these decisions but came down strongly for what it termed a "person-centered society" in contrast to a "second-phase industrial society." With this choice, the commission commits itself to some overarching ideals and principles for the guidance of education.

It was only after this intensive analysis of the present and future content for education and a series of deliberate choices with respect to values that the commission set the general societal aims from which the elementary school, for example, is to derive a sense of function and purpose. (See chapter 10 for explication of these "levels of decision-making" and problems of congruence among them.) Later, the report suggests how these might be fulfilled through early, basic, higher, and continuing education, with the school identified as only one of several educational agencies. Although the report is designed to be suggestive, not prescriptive, it is not short on detail, and ultimately involves itself in content, modes of learning, and even pedagogy. Throughout, however, the emphasis is on reasons and principles, drawing wherever possible from research and think pieces.

The absence of prescribed content and method for the schools is striking and in marked contrast to the guiding documents (usually in the form of syllabi) turned out by ministries of education and, in the United States, state departments of education. True to its own choice—on the surface seemingly contradictory—of *both* governmental regulation in interpersonal and intergroup relations *and* a person-centered society, the commission provides a clearly delineated picture of *both* what it desires and how to get it *and* enormous degrees of freedom for institutions, groups, and individuals. In fact, its report is convincing documentation of the point frequently made by planners that failure to project the future, set societal goals, and establish firm guidelines for attaining these ultimately is restrictive rather than supportive of individual freedom.

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[25] Ibid., p. 1.

Undoubtedly, the work and report of the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning will be used and referred to extensively by other provinces, states, and nations, not only for method and substance, but also as an illustration of the proper role for a government-sponsored body. As stated earlier in this chapter, societal-level policy-makers in ministries, state departments of education, and curriculum centers are not at all clear on where and how to intervene productively in education and schooling. Too often, they move quite inappropriately into such matters as grade-by-grade specification of curriculum content instead of providing an overall sense of mission and purpose from which local schools and individual teachers might derive the specifics. The Alberta Commission, almost unerringly, seems to have chosen appropriately and, as a result, to have provided the framework within which curriculum centers and local schools might work with enthusiasm and a sense of purpose.

Shaping the Elementary School in the United States

Just as the future of a state or nation can be shaped, in large part, so can the future of a school. Interestingly, relatively little attention has been given to the deliberate shaping of the school as a social institution, even though many conceptualizations of the future of education turn their attention to what individual schools might be like. And much of the educational ferment taking place in the United States since 1957 has been directed at components of the school as a whole: curriculum, organization, technological resources, and the like. However, Griffin's study revealed that of three levels of decision-making—societal, institutional, and instructional—the second, dealing with the school, received least attention.[26] Goodlad, Klein, and associates, in their study of the gap between often endorsed expectations for the schools and actuality of practice, found only a handful of schools out of the sixty-seven studied to have a "critical mass of concerned persons" at work on the problems identified by principals and teachers as most critical —and these tended to be the most dynamic schools in the sample.[27]

Joyce, who observed the same phenomenon, urges that each school have a body of "responsible parties" engaged continuously in study of the school's destiny in regard to goals, design of the curriculum, and criteria for evaluation.[28] The process is enormously demanding and difficult, as Bahner [29] and McClure [30] reveal in their year-long documentations of school faculties struggling, even floundering, with such processes. They scarcely know where to begin, in part because the people of the United States have given no clear-cut mandate to their schools. A report such as that of the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning, released and endorsed as official state policy, would be very helpful since local responsible parties might then begin with an analysis of what the commission's goals mean for the more precise ends and means of a particular elementary school.

It is difficult for such groups to decide on appropriate choice-points for shaping the single school as a functioning entity. The commission's report provides them at a more general level. At the school level, Joyce's analysis is helpful,[31] as is Downey's,[32] and although the latter is for the secondary school, it is clearly applicable to the elementary level. Chapters 4 and 15 of this yearbook, in particular, suggest an array of alternatives at each choice-point and imply an appropriate level of generality for decisions which provide a school framework but do not usurp the authority of individual teachers.

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[26] Gary Arlen Griffin, "Curricular Decision Making in Selected School Systems" (Ed.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970).

[27] John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein, and Associates, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971).

[28] Bruce R. Joyce, *Alternative Models of Elementary Education* (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1969).

[29] John M. Bahner, "An Analysis of an Elementary School Faculty at Work: A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1960).

[30] Robert Milton McClure, "Procedures, Processes, and Products in Curriculum Development" (Ed.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1965).

[31] Joyce, op. cit.

[32] Lawrence W. Downey, *The Secondary Phase of Education* (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1965).

Once a school staff becomes seriously involved in a dialogue about a school's destiny, limitations in the structure within which teachers work quickly become apparent. Teaching all day in an elementary school is demanding and exhausting. To expect that concerned but tired teachers can come together for an hour or two at the end of the day, perhaps twice a month, and successfully nongrade the school, for example, is to be unrealistic. They need time, time that can be made available through differentiated staffing, the use of paraprofessionals, parent volunteers, and so on, or through employment of at least a core of the full-time professionals for a month or more in the summer. And those in charge of the local school need an enormous amount of support from the central office, especially when their changes begin to run counter to district-wide procedures and standard practices.

Change is a lonely, difficult business; we have failed to recognize just how lonely and difficult it can be. In spite of this, "responsible parties" do become excited about the challenge and satisfaction involved in designing or redesigning a school, especially when their successes and failures are readily shared with others.[33] And although those who make progress deserve all the support and encouragement they can get, more often than not they must fight their way upstream against obstacles which could be removed by understanding and sympathetic central office administrators. They encounter carping criticism, even from colleagues in neighboring schools, who, of course, often are threatened by others effecting change. The crowning blow, as Longstreet so effectively points out in chapter 10, comes when it is the young and tender practice, not the old and tough, that must stand the test of evaluation—often on criteria and tests favoring the old.

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[33] The loneliness, difficulties, problems, and satisfactions experienced by those who tried to change their schools in a Study of Educational Change and School Improvement, conducted by the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., are reported in a series of films and books. The four films are collectively entitled *The League* and are available from |I|D|E|A| Informational Services Division Inc., (P.O. Box 446, Melbourne, Fla. 32901). The books are in press and will be published by McGraw-Hill Book Co. in 1973.

Just as a report such as that of the Alberta Commission, once translated into provincial or state educational policy, sets up reverberations in the subsystems of schooling, the work of local subsystems likewise makes demands on the larger system. For example, a statewide analysis of school costs soon reveals that the largest expenditure, by far, is for personnel. The use of differentiated staffing is recommended. But implementation at the local level is likely to fly in the face of long-established patterns of self-contained classrooms if responsible parties in the school are not already considering modification of such patterns. Likewise, the need for a school staff to get more time for planning raises questions about those system-wide practices of inservice education that take teachers away from their schools and at the same time reward them with various point credit systems tied to salary scales.

Turning to another example of intersystem and intrasystem dependence, states have important decisions to make regarding the scope of responsibility to be assumed by local schools. If the decision is to utilize other institutions for educational functions, the role of the school is more sharply delimited. If this role is the provision of only a few hours' instruction each day in the basic skills of literacy, the options available to local planning groups are few. The concept of an "open school," for example, may be irrelevant. On the other hand, when the school is designated as the coordinating institution for an array of educational agencies, the options become many. Clearly, there is a significant interplay between the decisions of societal policy-makers and of those local groups seeking to shape their schools.

The critical problem for an indefinite future is to make this interplay a productive one. For it to be so, those seeking to change the school, most of whom have viewed it as a client or target, must seek to understand it as a social system with latent as well as explicit educational functions, activities, and reward systems. To regard the school as something "to be done unto" is, at best, to ignore the tremendous capacity of the school to resist even the most well-intentioned reforms and, at worst, to cause undue anxiety, resistance, and resentment. As Sarason points out, the school has a culture of its own;[34] the cultivation of those evolutionary elements requiring intelligent responsiveness to needs in the larger society, as well as to the richness of ideas for change and adaptation, probably is the most productive means at present for closing the gap between where our schools are today and where we want to be tomorrow.

The general impression one derives from what follows in this yearbook is that few, if any, authors are ready at this time to choose the revolutionary alternative of doing away with the elementary school entirely, although none discards this option lightly. Rather, they choose to analyze the issues underlying the school's own options as well as the alternatives that should be considered seriously to provide the total range of educational experiences boys and girls should enjoy. Most of the options presented are real in that they have been tried or exist in some schools and are available now to schools growing conscious of the needs which such options are designed to meet. Shane's concluding chapter opens up alternatives calling for more extensive change and, therefore, for vital processes of self-renewal such as those proposed in chapter 14. Certainly, there are enough ideas here for any elementary school concerned about and committed to its own responsive evolution.

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34. Seymour B. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971).

CHAPTER II

Historical Roots of Contemporary Elementary Education

HENRY J. OTTO

Basic texts on education in the United States written in the early 1950s frequently pointed to a considerable accomplishment: most *eligible* children were in school.[1] The educational scene at that time was relatively quiet. Little was heard about educating three- and four-year-olds, dropouts, minority groups, the disadvantaged, or of desegregating schools. These problems were yet to come to the forefront, as subsequent chapters reveal. But, according to the definition of the time, universal schooling was a near accomplishment.

Unless one knows some colonial history, one is likely to be misled into thinking that the United States always has been a country of free public education for almost every child. Actually, widespread implementation of a commitment to schooling came late and is largely a very recent development. This chapter will review the forces in our early history, going back to colonial times, that helped shape the elementary school.

English Influences on Colonial Practices

In the early 1600s the people of England fell into two large classes, each of which had many gradations. The first was an independent and self-supporting group composed of the nobility, the clergy, knights, lawyers, freeholders, farm owners, shopkeepers, tradesmen, artisans, and craftsmen. The dependent class consisted of journeymen, apprentices, farm laborers, servants, vagrants, and beggars whose employment, wages, and mobility were determined by a deteriorating economy and the will of the upper classes.[2] This class division was so well established that few questioned it. The deep-rooted idea that society should be made up of aristocrats and the "hewers of wood" was later to have a powerful effect upon the social organization of the colonists.[3]

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[1] According to official statistics, in 1952 there were 31,379,000 children and youth in the total population, five to seventeen years of age; 30,554,464 were in school, public and private. The public elementary schools enrolled 20,789,291 in kindergarten and the first eight grades. See U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1950-1952* (Washington: Government Printing Office), pp. 6, 18.

Since English society consisted of an upper and a lower class, it is understandable that the aristocratic and well-to-do educated their children in Latin grammar schools or by private tutoring in the home and reasoned that the poor simply should not be educated lest learning among the masses threaten the established order and lead to disobedience. Whatever scanty education the dependent class received from the depleted funds of the era was provided by the lowly dame school or as charity, by schools maintained by the church, and by philanthropic and religious organizations.[4]

The attitude that education was only for the upper classes was so strong that public support and control of elementary schools did not obtain in England until the 1870s. Much of this same attitude was transferred to the colonies in America, where its persevering influence may be seen in the delay until the nineteenth century in establishing the concept of free, public education as a right rather than a privilege.

Religion was a very important factor in shaping the early lives and education of settlers in the New World. The religious situation in England early in the seventeenth century was a difficult one. The Church of England had been for a generation the only fully recognized religious body and had become strongly entrenched. The Roman Catholic group, which had been weakened greatly during the reign of Henry VIII, was, however, still a divisive force. The Puritans and Separatists further splintered religious affiliations, the latter group, in fact, believing that a state church was idolatrous and that each congregation should be independent. All three of these groups found fault with the established church and were persecuted by it.

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[2] Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States,* 3d rev. ed. (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1941), p. 3.

[3] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[4] Ibid., pp. 65-67.

Early settlers in the colonies came out of this religious background. They believed that religion should permeate every phase of living. All human activity and conduct deemed unpleasing to God must be discouraged, even to the point of oppression.[5] This attitude probably reached its peak among the Puritans of Massachusetts who took their text from the Old Testament "thou shalt nots." Religious tolerance was no more a mark of the New World (except in Pennsylvania) than it was of the Old.

The church, however, played a significant role in elementary education in the colonies, just as it did in England. The parallel in providing some limited schooling by the church for the poor and underprivileged is clear. Understandably, religion loomed large in the substance of schooling, constituting a significant part of the contents set forth in textbooks and courses of study, even late into the eighteenth century.

It appears that the ideas and attitudes brought and espoused initially by the settlers were far from those likely to provide a hospitable setting for the free, public elementary schools that were to evolve. Education was regarded as the duty of the home. Apprenticeship was considered the appropriate avenue for vocational training. The church was the appropriate institution to provide rudimentary education for orphans, paupers, and neglected children. The grammar or Latin school was for the children of aristocrats and the well-to-do, after they had been taught to read and write at home, frequently by tutors. As in England, it was thought best to restrict the education of the masses lest it lead to an upset of the status quo. These ideas and practices were a far cry from those that came so strongly to the forefront during the second half of the nineteenth century, which witnessed the rapid expansion of the idea that elementary schooling was the right of all children.

Elementary Schools in the New World

RELIGION AS A FORCE IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In all colonies, as noted above, religion was the primary source of much of the limited interest that was shown in education. Since one needed to know his letters in order to read the Bible, reading instruction was stressed and thus religion and reading became closely associated. For example, Massachusetts, in 1647, passed a law whereby a town as soon as it reached fifty households was required to appoint one of its members to teach reading and writing to such children as might come to him. After a town had reached one hundred households, it was to provide a grammar school to prepare a few select youths for the university. The church deacons and the town selectmen participated in the supervision of the school, the deacons examining the children in religion while the selectmen checked on families to see that children were taught in schools or otherwise. But the law was often evaded before 1700 because the teacher had to be paid by the parents or by the master of apprentices or by levying a tax. Many colonists disliked the latter alternative, especially married adults without children and single adults who did not want to pay taxes to educate someone else's children—not an unfamiliar problem! Apparently, in most cases, avarice and poverty prevailed over religious zeal, as is evidenced by constant complaint that the education of children was neglected.

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[5] Samuel E. Morison, *The Puritan Pronaos* (New York: New York University Press, 1936), p. 7.

Cubberley has noted that by 1750 there seems to have been a noticeable weakening of the old religious link between Bible reading and the elementary schools.[6] However, in all colonies, the basic religious motive lingered even when the importance of education for purposes other than for reading the Scriptures was recognized, and the churches clung doggedly to their instructional role. Connecticut, for example, allowed all denominations to exist, yet until 1818 taxed all citizens to support the favored Puritan or Congregational Church. Massachusetts did not abandon a tax for support of the Puritan Church until 1833, and it was many years after the Revolution before the church was fully and officially disestablished throughout all of the states.[7]

EARLY FORMS OF ELEMENTARY-LEVEL INSTRUCTION

From 1650 to about 1700 and much later in many areas, the dame school was in vogue for young learners in Massachusetts. Several families would band together to engage a dame—often a widow or spinster—to teach their children. By 1700 it had become common to support a school for all young children by means of a town tax. Since often there was not enough money to support a full school term in each part of town, the town school sometimes "moved," being part-time in one place and part-time in another. In larger, scattered towns the school had to move many times, thus decreasing the time children could attend. In Gloucester, in the 1750s, the school moved so often that the pupils received an incredibly brief span of instruction: one and one-half months every three years.[8] During the first half of the next century the Lancastrian type of monitorial schools provided for the education of large numbers of children, mostly boys, at low cost. These schools were held in a large room and accommodated, in rows usually of nine students each, it was claimed, up to a thousand pupils. There was one teacher for the whole room with an assistant for each row and, often, other assistants to perform special functions. These assistants, who were usually advanced students, were cast in roles not unlike today's paraprofessionals. The system flourished mainly in middle Atlantic and southern states from about 1806 to 1830.

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[6] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), p. 439.

[7] Knight, op. cit., 83-84.

Another type of school common in the South from the colonial period was the "old field" school. These were schools sponsored by local communities in which some children were educated "free" and instruction was given to others on "very easie terms."

PROBLEMS OF FUNDING EARLY ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The attitudes mentioned at the beginning of this chapter were slow to change. It is little wonder that free, state-supported schools were not a reality until well into the nineteenth century! On the educational scene there were the aforementioned and other types of schools, generally of poor quality. Tuition (often in the form of rates levied against parents), gifts, rents from leased public lands, and local taxation were used to support these schools. Virtually all the schools—and their funding—were inadequate except, perhaps, in the case of the better Latin grammar schools. As Bunker phrased it, even in the education-prone New England area, elementary education until well after 1800 was informal, intermittent, unsystematic, voluntary in respect to both the parents and community, and hence inefficient.[9] According to Knight, "Free schools, by state support and state control and open to all the children without humiliation by taint of charity, were not realities in the American states during the first half of the nineteenth century." [10]

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[8] Frank F. Bunker, *Reorganization of the Public School System*, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin 1906, No. 8 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 3.

All the colonies, and later the states, permitted or authorized local taxes for the support of schools, but—as noted earlier—local taxes, even when coupled with all other types of financial support never sufficed to maintain adequate schools. Massachusetts has allowed local taxation to be used since 1647, but the history of its inadequacy in that state, as elsewhere, has been a long one. Nonetheless, local taxes have been an important source of revenue up to the present, although their future role is uncertain in the light of 1971 court decisions in California, Texas, and elsewhere which apparently imply the need for different sources of revenue.

It remained for state aid to put local schools on a permanent operating basis. Georgia, in 1777, probably was the first to authorize state aid, this being in the form of land grants. Unfortunately, the returns did not provide income of consequence, and only one-third of it was available to the common schools. Even that part was restricted to the construction of school buildings.[11] Thus, despite this pioneering in state funding, as late as the 1840s, the state of Georgia contributed very little. Most of the available money was used for subsidizing academies, the major function of some of which was the college preparation of the sons of the well-to-do. Local taxes were not authorized until 1889. It was not until 1893 that a five-month school term was established throughout the state.[12]

Other indications of the discouragingly slow rate of progress toward providing adequate funds for elementary schools are abundant. For instance, although Connecticut granted some lands for school support as early as 1672, a permanent school fund was not established until 1795, more than a century later.[13] Delaware gave land for public school purposes in 1744 but the first law to establish a system of public schools was not enacted until 1796. The source of funds for schools was to be fees collected for marriage and tavern licenses.[14] Virginia waited until 1810 to create its state Literary Fund, the proceeds of which were to be used for the education of the poor.[15] South Carolina established a state fund for the education of all, but *all* soon came to mean the poor. In 1814, the state appropriated a token sum of $37,000 to meet its obligation to educate the young. The first really supportive public school law was not passed until 1870.[16]

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Knight, op. cit., p. 156.

[11] Dorothy Orr, *A History of Education in Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), pp. 20-21.

[12] Ibid., p. 251.

Probably, the bulk of support for schools until well into the nineteenth century came from fees paid by the parents of the students. The chief opposition to having parents bear the chief burden of educating their children came from the rural areas and the poor. The so-called rate bill was particularly oppressive on the poor, and it was extremely difficult to get rid of this inequitable form of support.

State aid to help support local public schools was, indeed, slow in coming. Legislation making schools free to all pupils was passed in Massachusetts in 1834 by an act that provided state aid to supplement local taxes. Other states made similar provisions between 1834 and 1871.[17] The representative legislation cited here helps, in part, to explain why modern compulsory education laws were so late in coming. Massachusetts, in 1852, was the first to enact a modern compulsory attendance law. Mississippi did not do so until 1918.[18] It was thus more than three hundred years from the time Virginia was first settled to the time that every child in the United States, regardless of the wealth of his parents, was assured of having available to him some form of free public elementary education.

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[13] Personal letter from Willis H. Umberger, dated October 8, 1971; see also Knight, op. cit.

[14] Personal letter from Howard E. Row, dated October 7, 1971; see Knight, op. cit. and Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934).

[15] Cornelius J. Heatwole, *A History of Education in Virginia* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1916), p. 104.

[16] Edgar W. Knight, *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913), pp. 51, 73.

[17] James P. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Publishing Co., 1886), pp. 10, 286-87; Cubberley, *Public Education*, op. cit., pp. 200-205; George H. Martin, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904), pp. 154-55.

Girls' Education in the United States before 1900

THE WOMAN-AS-CHATTEL CONCEPT

Theories regarding the "proper" education of girls were imported from England, as were many practices that became common in the colonies. One widely held notion was that the intellectual abilities of women were inherently inferior to those of men. While the male role had to do with government, business, politics, the crafts, protection from hostile Indians, and provision of food and shelter, woman's place and her duties were confined to the home. Her duties included bearing and rearing "a quiver full" of children to people the wilderness, preparing food, spinning and weaving clothes for the family, and performing the numerous onerous chores which a household demanded. Inviolable chastity and absolute devotion to the well-being of every member of her family were the supreme virtues men valued in a woman. Goodsell wrote, "The ideal of [western] womanhood through the ages has been a modest, docile, clinging creature, trained in home-keeping arts, with physical charms sufficient to compensate for an empty mind, and with unlimited capacity for self-immolation." [19] To these prized qualities, as the frontier moved westward, American males added thrift, health, grit, and a capacity for hard work.

NARROW CONFINES OF "FEMALE EDUCATION" AT THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEVEL

In the American colonies a woman had no legal status; her husband was her representative in all matters.[20] Here, as well as in mother England, marriage was well-nigh the only reputable vocation for a "respectable" woman, and most females married in their teens.

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[18] F. C. Ensign, *Compulsory School Attendance and Child Labor Laws* (Iowa City: Athens Press, 1921), p. 10.

[19] Willistine Goodsell, *The Education of Women* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923), p. 7.

[20] Willistine Goodsell, ed., *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931), pp. 1-2.

It is in this context that we must examine the education of girls in colonial days. The instruction of females was held to be the responsibility of the home, and so home study in religion, reading, and writing (along with learning to perform household tasks) was the only education most girls received during the first half of the seventeenth century. Girls did attend dame schools, and in some communities these schools continued as late as the Revolution to afford the only nonhome education available to them—and to boys as well. Children might enter at three years of age. Boys generally left at seven or eight, girls sometimes not until they were ten or eleven. Martin tells of a New England dame school in which the teacher had a group of youngsters in her home, as was the custom. While teaching, she also made shirts for the Indians, sewed breeches for her husband's brother, and cared for her own four young children.[21] Since most dame school teachers were poorly educated, had many home responsibilities, and only the most meager facilities, it is not difficult to imagine how low the quality of instruction was in such schools.

The history of early dame schools and the instruction of females enrolled therein is clouded because they were private and few documents concerning them have been found. Updegraff tells us that the earliest mention of a dame school was of one located in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1673, but there certainly were earlier ones.[22] There is evidence to show that between 1650 and 1700 some towns in Massachusetts began to permit girls from the dame schools to attend town schools, the girls commonly arriving an hour after the boys had gone home or attending on Thursday afternoons when the boys had a weekly holiday. Other towns combined the dame school with the reading and writing departmental school. A few towns even built an extra story or wing to the grammar school or occasionally even a separate building in which to sequester these girls—coeducational schooling being considered inappropriate in most of the colonies. Such town schools in many cases probably had tuition fees.

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[21] George H. Martin, *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904), p. 80.

[22] Harlan Updegraff, *The Origin of the Moving School in Massachusetts* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908), p. 140.

All in all, most girls of elementary school age received very little schooling, even in education-minded Massachusetts. Private academies or finishing schools for girls existed but, for the most part, they served no one save the daughters of the well-to-do. Even when Boston opened an English high school for girls in 1825 or 1826, it was short-lived. Despite good attendance, it was closed two years later because the Boston school committee decided, on second thought, that it was not prudent to spend so much money on girls' education.[23]

OTHER FORMS OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Pennsylvania churches sponsored schools to teach the elementary subjects from an early period, and, although no mention is made of girls attending, it seems safe to infer that females received—if only in the interest of their salvation—some instruction in religion, reading, and writing. In 1808, the Pennsylvania legislature passed an ineffectual law providing for the education of the poor, including females, and a decade later enacted legislation which included provisions for instruction of young females but, unfortunately, only if they lived in Philadelphia. Here, children of the poor were admitted at public expense, boys between the ages of six and fourteen, and girls between the ages of five and thirteen. The schools thus authorized, by the way, were required to use the Lancastrian or monitorial system. It was not until 1836 that the law was modified to permit all children throughout Pennsylvania to attend, irrespective of their sex and the economic or social status of their families.[24]

Virginia was required early to provide some elements of an education for girls and boys as early as 1619, probably under the English laws protecting the rights of orphans. In that year England sent one hundred orphans to Virginia as part of a general plan to distribute such dependent children among the colonies.[25] It is most unlikely that any of these orphans attended school.

[23] Martin, op. cit., p. 145.

[24] Wickersham, op. cit., pp. 269, 287.

[25] Heatwole, op. cit., p. 28.

Virginia apprenticeship laws subsequently were passed, beginning in 1643, which recommended that the masters of young orphaned apprentices were to teach them "some good trade" and, after 1705 for boys and 1751 for girls, to read and write. Also, in the 1640s, small private "community schools," organized by the planters and merchants for their children and those of their neighbors, began to appear.[26] Academies also had become popular in Virginia by 1775 and remained in vogue until after 1870. These were private institutions and some admitted both boys and girls. Instruction included elementary subjects designed to serve as a preparation for secondary education. A statewide, free elementary school system for all Virginia children eventually was established in 1867.[27]

Georgia was somewhat different from the other colonies in that its constitution of 1777 set high standards of intent for education. Unfortunately, not much happened until 1783 when the legislature passed a law authorizing and funding state aid to academies and common schools. The academies received two-thirds of the money and, for the poor, the common schools became free of charge. As a result, there was a great move to start academies, including a number for young women. By 1860 there was a total of 583. Most of these were one-teacher institutions but the typical curriculum of the larger ones was built around four "schools" or "departments," the lowest of which offered the rudiments of reading, writing, spelling, and the elementary rules of arithmetic. The highest department was similar to the Latin grammar school of the New England states. There were schools for both boys and girls but the girls followed a modified program of studies.[28]

So-called old field schools (already described) had existed from the colonial period. They were coeducational (young children) and were supported by the citizens of the community. Children attended two or three years, but attendance was desultory since the children usually were needed for domestic and farm work.[29]

Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Georgia have been selected as examples to portray some aspects of the education of girls. From these examples one may conclude that the education of most young females was neglected at the elementary school level for two hundred years, from 1620 to 1820. Conditions improved gradually thereafter, but only as generations of men and women began to think along new lines. With the coming of the factory system, the westward movement, peaceful Indian relations, and the general improvement of the economy—not to mention the agitation of women themselves for equal rights—the educational emancipation of women finally began to make headway. New publicly supported secondary schools began to be coeducational, and by 1880 there were eight hundred of them. At the level of higher education, Oberlin Collegiate Institute, later chartered as Oberlin College, was opened to both sexes in 1833, and Antioch, a coeducational college, was opened in 1853.[30]

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[26] Ibid., p. 58.

[27] Ibid., p. 215.

[28] Orr, op. cit., p. 40.

[29] Ibid., p. 51.

Boys' Education in the United States before 1900

As noted earlier, colonial and even later leaders placed greater value on the education of boys than on that of girls, whose intellects might be overtaxed and whose future seemed unlikely to demand it. Certainly, the education of boys was in no way to be jeopardized by the extension of education to "mere" girls.[31] Of course, education for boys, except for the favored few, was not extensive or easily obtained, and the higher the level, the less opportunity there was to acquire it.

Although this yearbook is concerned with the elementary school in America, the school's nature, functions, and contributions must be seen in terms of *all* of its historical roots. For this reason, in this discussion of the education of young males, some background information on their opportunities for secondary and higher education is included since requirements for preparatory school and university obviously affected their earlier schooling.

Until academically respectable colleges could be established in the New World, the well-to-do who aspired to provide their sons with a college education had to send them to England. Massachusetts Bay Colony established Harvard in 1636, although some years passed before it began to prepare students. Other colonies followed in time: William and Mary was chartered in 1693; Yale opened in 1701; Princeton in 1746; King's College (Columbia University) in 1754; the College of Philadelphia in 1755; Rhode Island College (Brown) in 1764; Queen's (Rutgers) in 1766; and Dartmouth in 1769.

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[30] Goodsell, *The Education of Women*, pp. 24-25.

[31] Charles A. Beard, ed., *A Century of Progress* (Chicago and New York: Harper & Bros., in cooperation with A Century of Progress Exposition, 1932), p. 264.

EARLY MALE ENROLLMENT IN GRAMMAR SCHOOL PROGRAMS

The Latin Grammar School of Boston—the first college preparatory school in America—was established before the middle of the seventeenth century. Towns in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other colonies opened Latin grammar schools before the close of the century.[32]

Although young lads were enrolled as early as age seven or eight, the age of children in today's primary grades, the curricular emphases in these Latin grammar schools were academic in the extreme. In effect, one moved from learning a little reading, writing, and ciphering in a dame school, at home, or from a private tutor to the rigors of academia. Often, only the bright had a tolerable time of it! Local taxation to support the grammar school was sometimes authorized, but tuition remained the main source of income, thus restricting enrollment predominantly to boys whose parents had money.

As time went on, some grammar schools began to suffer from lack of support and from competition of schools and masters offering more "practical" subjects. Other developments also hampered the growth of grammar schools. A law in Massachusetts, passed as late as 1824, exempted all towns with a population of less than 5,000 from supporting a Latin grammar school. In practice, this exempted all but seven towns in the state. Undoubtedly, this step was taken because the idea of a public school had begun to gather momentum—and to increase tax burdens accordingly. Boston founded an English high school for boys in 1821, the first in the country.

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[32] Frank P. Graves, *A Student's History of Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 129.

Other such schools began to be established and by 1850 there were fifty-five or more in the eastern and midwestern states. In the last half of the century the number expanded rapidly.

ROADBLOCKS TO THE EDUCATION OF BOYS

Despite modest or ephemeral efforts to improve the education of boys, one must remember that although the grammar schools were partially town-supported and their counterpart, the academies of the South, were partially state-supported, they generally charged tuition. This restricted attendance to those whose parents could afford it. The poor were taken care of—if at all—through home instruction, apprenticeship, the operation of "poor laws," and so forth. However, the vast majority received little or no substantial academic preparation. In 1871, only 37 percent of children of ages five to seventeen were attending school daily. In 1890, only 44 percent were attending. By 1920, some three hundred years after the first settlements, the opportunity to attend elementary and secondary schools was rapidly becoming a birthright.

The Education of Negroes in the United States

VOCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Negroes in this country, with rare exceptions, have always had some form of instruction—meager, circumscribed, and intermittent though it may have been. Economic prudence made it desirable for masters to teach their slaves the best way to do whatever tasks were assigned to them. Tobacco, cotton, all grains, and forest products, for instance, needed special kinds of treatment. As plantations grew in size and the number of slaves increased, division of labor became necessary. Many plantations became self-sufficient as slaves were taught numerous skills: to build houses, to spin and weave cotton, and even to prepare and to preserve foods. Some slaves became so skilled as artisans that they were "rented out" to whoever needed their particular skills. With the passing years, there were blacks who came to be entrusted with the keys to all store provisions; they weighed and measured all rations, supervised many types of machines, and made machinery as complicated as the steam engine.[33] In South Carolina, between 1732 and 1776, slaves served in at least twenty-eight trades.[34]

Slaves commonly were used as household servants, doing the chores, cooking and waiting on tables, serving as nursemaids to the owner's children or as body servants to the master or his wife. In this way, many Negroes learned social graces and elements of culture. Because it was necessary both for their work and their salvation, many blacks (a small percentage) acquired some ability in reading and writing. More than a few were given their freedom after a period of years by owners who respected them. The freedmen increased from 4.7 percent of the Negro population in 1790 to 258,346 or 6.3 percent in 1860.[35] Some of the better-run plantations with enlightened owners had health plans and even hospitals for the care of slaves. At least in part, this was in the best interest of the master since it was important to keep slaves healthy to get maximum work out of them. The South's slave-apprenticeship system for blacks continued until the Civil War.

Many blacks brought with them from overseas a religion which was likely to center on animism, spirits, and fetishes. Though this did not mesh well with religions of the Western world, some colonies had a policy up to the close of the Civil War which was not conducive to the religious education of blacks in any christian denomination.[36] At least in part, this was due to the belief that a slave could not be held in bondage for life if he had been baptized. To overcome any qualms of conscience, Virginia passed a law in 1667 stating that conferring baptism did not alter the condition of bondage.[37] Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey passed similar laws.[38]

The eighteenth century saw a gradual change in attitude toward the blacks' religious education. By the middle of the eighteenth century many Negroes could read the Bible and others could spell and write, at least after a fashion. It was, however, not until the last half of the eighteenth century that churches and benevolent societies did much to improve the lot and the education of Negroes. Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers were among the denominations that did the most. However, the Quakers' liberal ideas in regard to blacks were at no time welcome in Virginia.

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[33] Henry A. Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 6.

[34] Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 13.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Joseph B. Earnest, *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Printers, 1914), pp. 2, 8.

[37] Ibid., p. 22.

[38] Jernegan, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

In other colonies also, the churches made efforts to educate the Negroes, not only in religion, but also in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Ironically, as will be seen later, the nineteenth century, in the North and South alike, was less hospitable to Negro education than was the eighteenth.

NEGRO SCHOOLING

Schooling for Negroes—as distinct from vocational or religious education—was a sad story. Some few towns had schools for Negroes, some of them actually financed by Negroes themselves, but in most cases, if admitted to school at all, they were classed with the "pauper" poor. This usually meant at best inferior and intermittent instruction. However, the attendance of Negroes in schools attended by whites, although rare, was not unknown.

During most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whatever was done in the way of Negro schooling was accomplished by benevolent societies. The Quakers were especially active in this movement, and seven of their schools for blacks had been opened in Philadelphia by 1797.[39] They also established schools in New York and in several towns in Pennsylvania. A Philadelphia philanthropist provided a fund for the employment of Negro catechists (the word *catechists* implying emphasis on religious or catechetical instruction) to teach Negroes. This teaching was later supported by the Thomas Bray Mission, but the catechists, perhaps because of their limited focus, failed to give satisfaction. Subsequently, when Bray died, a group of his followers known as "The Associates of Dr. Bray" opened schools in Philadelphia, New York, Rhode Island,

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[39] C. G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), p. 104.

and Virginia between 1758 and 1760.[40] Typical of the general governmental neglect, however, was Pennsylvania, which emancipated the Negroes in 1780, yet failed to help in financing schools for them until 1818.

STRICTURES PLACED ON THE SCHOOLING OF BLACKS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Whatever was accomplished in schooling prior to the Civil War virtually came to a halt at its onset, although, as we have suggested, efforts to impede the black's education, even at the elementary level, go back a century or more before that. For example, as early as 1740, South Carolina had passed a law prohibiting any person from teaching or causing a slave to be taught, or from employing a slave as a scribe "in any manner of writing." In 1764, in Charleston, South Carolina, all schools that had the temerity to serve blacks were closed.[41] The nineteenth century, however, saw a great increase in such prohibitory efforts. In 1831 Georgia passed a law prohibiting a Negro or a white man from teaching a black. The Negro who transgressed the law was fined and whipped while the white man could be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the court.[42] Virginia, in 1831, passed a law which prohibited the teaching of Negroes or mulattoes in groups. All schools for Negroes in the state were closed for an interval at that time. Delaware in 1831 and again in 1863 passed legislation curbing the educational activities of Negroes. Alabama in 1832, South Carolina in 1834, North Carolina in 1835, and Florida in 1846 passed legislation which had the same effect.[43]

The legislation mentioned in the preceding paragraph generally was supported in the decades before the Civil War by white people who owned plantations or other large holdings and feared for their security. Their anxiety was increased by the growing number of Negroes, slave and free, who could read the antislavery literature that was appearing. Furthermore, since freedom through manumission had created a large body of free Negroes,[44] particularly in nonslave states, large numbers of valuable educated slaves were disappearing from the plantations—often via underground railroads—and reappearing in the relative safety of the North. Increasingly, in the nineteenth century, southern whites urged northern states to pass laws preventing this migration of Negroes. Partly as a result of this pressure, the Fugitive Slave Law was passed in 1850. Also, to add to the Southerner's dislike for education of Negroes, a number of Negro insurrections occurred, starting with Gabriel's Insurrection in Virginia in 1800 and one in South Carolina in the same year. Others occurred in Camden in 1816, in Charleston in 1822. The Nat Turner Insurrection was in 1831.[45] These insurrections frightened slaveholders and led to further suppression of Negro education, which many Southerners blamed for the revolts. Then came the Civil War, and in the South practically all efforts involving Negro education—and, for that mattter, schooling for whites—stopped.

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[40] Ibid., p. 37.

[41] Ibid., p. 34.

[42] Ibid., p. 160.

[43] Ibid., pp. 161-67.

During the war there was a tremendous migration of runaway or freed Negroes to the North and especially to the army camps of the Union. Partly because Northern generals complained that the care of refugees was interfering with their military operations, one month before the end of the war in 1865 the government belatedly moved to create the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.[46] The government Bureau of Refugees operated 575 schools in fourteen southern states and spent $5,145,124 for schools between 1866 and 1870.[47] Benevolent societies continued to be actively important welfare and education agencies for blacks, and a total of at least sixty-five were in operation within a few years after the close of the war. Financial records of sixteen societies indicate that they spent $3,933,278 between 1862 and 1874. It should be remembered that over a century ago these sums represented substantial expenditures.

By 1870 Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act giving full citizenship and voting rights to Negroes. Southerners had accepted

[44] Edward R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1911), p. 54.

[45] Woodson, op. cit., pp. 155-57.

[46] Bullock, op. cit., p. 22.

[47] Ibid., p. 27.

the Fourteenth Amendment under duress, however, and in spirit and action revealed that many of them were far from ready to accept the concepts of either racial or educational equality. It is hardly necessary to add that many Northerners also rejected ideas of racial equality. They acquiesced to the education of the Negro but rejected the idea that schooling should be at public expense. Although some Southerners believed in Negro education at public expense, even those who did virtually always opposed the idea of mixed schools.[48] It was in this atmosphere of fear and confusion that the Ku Klux Klan, organized in 1865, launched a series of threats and overt actions against teachers and Negro parents who sent their children to school.

In 1877 came the famous compromise by which the South was restored to parity with the North and was freed from northern intervention in its race relations. Thereafter, there was gradual abandonment of the Negro by the federal government. The Supreme Court of the United States dealt the Negroes a severe blow by its decision in the slaughterhouse case (1873) in which it redefined citizenship by separating citizenship in the federal government from citizenship in the states. There was a series of other cases between 1873 and 1896 (Plessy v. Ferguson, for example) which foreshadowed the fact that the races were destined to live in two separate worlds for many years to come.[49] Anything remotely like educational equality was lost in the process, including any form of comparable elementary schooling. Dual (separate black and white) school systems became a fact of life in the South, and even as late as the close of World War II, de jure systems had not entirely disappeared from northern states.

Negroes were unable to use political power to improve their elementary schools because effective steps had been taken, particularly in the South, to restrict their voting rights and privileges. By 1910 every former Confederate state had "legally" disenfranchised its Negro population. Animosity and friction increased outside the confines of the South, as the North, too, was having its problems with increasing numbers of Negroes crowding into the cities and forming Negro ghettos. The fact that the Civil War left both

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[48] Ibid., p. 52.

[49] Ibid., pp. 66-74.

North and South temporarily impoverished was another reason why elementary schooling remained at a low level in districts populated by Negroes.

Qualifications of Elementary School Teachers

ASSIGNMENT AND QUALIFICATIONS

A knowledge of the Scriptures and membership in the dominant church, an unblemished character, a minimum knowledge of the subjects to be taught, and ability in classroom management—disciplinary control—were the usual qualifications required of teachers until about 1840.[50] Teaching in many ways was considered an auxiliary of the ministry. Frequently, teachers were selected by the minister or a committee of selectmen; the procedure was very simple as compared to today's practices. Women usually taught in the dame schools and later, when they evolved, in the primary schools. Men usually taught in the departmental schools, the English grammar schools, the Latin grammar schools, academies, and the Lancastrian schools. By the time the graded school came into existence in the first part of the nineteenth century, women tended to be assigned to the primary grades.

In all periods, charges were often made that a majority of the teachers were incompetent, inexperienced, untrained, and lacking in professional interest. Certainly, the education and experience of most of them was meager.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

Teaching, until after 1800, consisted mainly of hearing recitations of material that the pupils had learned or memorized from the meager supply of books that were available. Maps, globes, blackboards, slates, pencils, pictures, and steel pens were nonexistent or in short supply until after 1800. The books available before 1800 were nearly all authored by men from the Old World and savored of English form and custom. Noah Webster's "Blue-backed Speller," published in 1783, had a phenomenal success, however, and encouraged other American authors to write new texts for

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50. Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher* (New York: American Book Co., 1939). Most of the items listed in this section were high points gleaned from this reference.

other subjects. By 1830, textbooks had been written for practically every subject that appeared in the curriculum of the elementary school. Despite the improvements made, textbooks during the early decades of the nineteenth century remained encyclopedic in nature and ill adapted to the interests and capacities of pupils. Teachers nearly always expected pupils to memorize the facts and reproduce them in recitations.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Teachers, as the demands upon them increased, became actively engaged in early versions of "professional study" designed to extend their education and to improve their classroom work. Written examinations covering the subjects to be taught were used before 1840 to test the qualifications of applicants. Teacher institutes spread rapidly after Henry Barnard started the first one in Hartford in 1839. Barnard's innovation provided six weeks of instruction in pedagogics along with a chance to review the usual subjects taught in the elementary school, while most of the subsequent institutes placed considerable emphasis upon subject matter. In time thousands of teachers attended these early professional meetings which spread to nearly all the states. In 1846 the Massachusetts legislature appropriated the then munificent sum of $2,500 for their support. Desire for the improvement of the teaching profession led to the formation of the National Teachers Association in 1857, which in 1870 became the National Educational Association, and the National Education Association in 1906.

Forerunners of the normal school were seminaries and academies that provided teacher training. States were unwilling to take the full responsibility for establishing and supporting teacher training institutions, so they compromised by giving aid to such seminaries and academies as already existed. New York first provided funds for teachers' classes in the academies in 1834, and other states followed suit. Finally, at the instigation of Horace Mann, a genuine state normal school was opened in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839. Progress in opening such institutions was slow, however, and as late as 1860 there were only eleven state normal schools located in eight states from Massachusetts to Minnesota.

Admission requirements to the normal school were far from uniform. It was common practice, however, to admit pupils with only an elementary education. Even as late as 1900, graduation from high school was not an entrance requirement; usually, two years of high school was enough. Most of the "normals" offered a one-year and a two-year course. The one-year course entitled the teacher to work in rural elementary schools, nearly always the one-room variety. Some states, to relieve the shortage of rural teachers, arranged for support of teacher training in the fourth year of high school. This practice continued in some states until after 1925.

Elementary teachers were not required to hold a Bachelor's degree until well into the twentieth century. Even today, there are still a few teachers of long service who possess only a two-year normal school certificate. It is evident that elementary schools were taught, prior to 1900, by teachers who, generally, had only the most meager academic background.

Contrast this with the situation existing by the early 1970s when every beginning elementary teacher, except those in specialized vocational fields, was required to have a Bachelor's degree. Many states also require completion of a Master's degree within, say, five years if the teacher wishes to continue to serve in the classroom. This tremendous progress in improving professional preparation has been achieved largely in the last forty years. Women, too, have achieved a prominent place, if not a predominant role, in the profession. At present about three-fourths of elementary teachers are women. Many have become elementary school principals, supervisors, counselors, social workers, psychometrists, psychologists, and specialists in fields such as reading.

Theory and Method before 1900

When Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on the door of the church in Wittenberg in 1517, it was a highly significant event in the history of education, as it was in the history of the world. Most scholars agree that the Protestant Reformation—at least indirectly—was one of the key forces that precipitated the need for elementary education. Luther believed the authority of the Bible should be substituted for the authority of the Church, that individual judgment in interpretation of the Bible should be substituted for the collective judgment of the Church, and that the individual should be responsible for his own salvation. This obviously necessitated that the individual be able to read the Bible and swiftly created a widespread need for vernacular schools to teach reading. Wycliffe, Huss, Zwingli, and Calvin shared similar ideas regarding the individual's right and duty to read the Scriptures and thus also contributed to the need for the form of instruction that was to evolve into elementary education.

It was not a sudden pedagogical revolution that Luther triggered since educational theories take time to evolve into practice, but inadvertently he did set the stage for the kind of elementary education that characterized the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The great struggle of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was for religious freedom; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was for political freedom and political rights. The quest for universal education was related to these struggles.[51]

EARLY PERSONAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In a brief review of three hundred years of history it is not possible to say a great deal about the contribution of any one individual. The early writers, whom the German historian Karl von Raumer called the Innovators, had as their theories most of the ideas which later became the essence of modern education. Cubberley lists thirteen items which characterized their writings.[52] These included instruction in the native tongue, working from the concrete and familiar to the more difficult, the study of children, and the analysis and use of the scientific method. Francis Bacon, Wolfgang Ratke, and Johann Amos Comenius were among those who advocated one or more of these principles. Comenius (1592-1671) wrote extensively; in his books, such as *Didactica Magna* and *The School of Infancy*, he outlined a complete program of education from home study through a series of schools described by him. His *Orbis Pictus*—used for some two hundred years—simplified the teaching of Latin and has been said to be the first illustrated textbook. Unfortunately, he lived during a period of great religious controversy and the influence of his major works was not as widespread as it otherwise would have been.[53]

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[51] Cubberley, *History of Education*, op. cit., p. 307.

[52] Ibid., p. 406.

John Locke (1632-1704) was essentially the founder of what was to become modern psychology, a discipline based on the application of the methods of modern scientific investigation to a study of the mind. Unfortunately, his ideas languished for three quarters of a century, and it remained for Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) to popularize and disseminate many of them for the teaching of children.

Rousseau's *Émile* emphasized the natural development of the child and contended that the three great teachers were nature, man, and experience. He argued that since the second and third tended to destroy the value of the first, up to twelve years of age the child should do nothing academic so that nature might have full sway.

Cubberley lists fourteen conceptions about education that Rousseau's writings contained.[54] Among the important points are replacement of authority by reason and investigation, the value of physical education, the emphasis on interests, the call for expression through conversation, writing, drawing, music, and play, that the child rather than the subject be taught, and that a many-sided education was needed. It is difficult to exaggerate the influence of Rousseau's theories on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century education. He lit a "candelabra of ideas" that lighted and warmed dismal elementary classrooms for two centuries.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827)—a "campus radical" in his youth in Zurich—was inspired by Rousseau's *Émile* and tried out its plan for an education on his own child. Finding Rousseau's methods impractical, he started a school with fifty abandoned children at his farm at Neuhof, Switzerland, in 1774. It was, among other things, an attempt to regenerate children of the poor by means of education. Although the school was a conspicuous failure, it gave him experience on which to base his writings. His greatest contribution lay in the rejection of the religious aim and the mere memorization of words which had characterized almost all elementary education up to near the close of the eighteenth century. The concept of *sense perception*—analogous to the twentieth-century phrase, "firsthand experience"—became one of the educational ideas with which he was long associated. In America, Edward A. Sheldon imported the version of Pestalozzianism espoused by the British Home and Colonial School Society to Oswego, where it was the basis for teacher training in the normal school over which he presided. The "Oswego methods," as they were called, caught on in this country and during the next thirty years were widely used.[55] Elementary school science was one of the fields strengthened by the movement.

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[53] Ibid., p. 416.

[54] Ibid., p. 532

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), a German philosopher who was profuondly influenced by Pestalozzi, proposed new psychological ideas that influenced the elementary school by socializing instruction, introducing lesson plans, and demonstrating the importance of organized instruction in history and literature. Despite his admiration for the Swiss educator, Herbart rejected the "faculty psychology" of Pestalozzi and instead conceived of the mind as a unity. He proposed that education should focus on character and social morality. The first person to develop a clear-cut body of educational theory, he is best known for his "five formal steps" to be followed in each lesson: preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application. Herbart died in 1841 without having awakened any general interest in his ideas, and his work remained virtually unnoticed until 1865 when Tuiskon Ziller published a book setting forth Herbart's ideas.[56]

Herbart's ideas were introduced into the United States through a book, *Essentials of Method*, published in 1889 by Charles De Garmo. In 1892 Charles A. McMurry published his *General Method*, and in 1897, together with his brother Frank, published *Method in the Recitation.* These three books did much to put Herbartian methods into widespread use in this country both at the elementary and secondary levels. The influence of Herbart's thinking is reflected in the fact that the "five formal steps" were commonly taught in many U.S. normal schools as late as the 1920s.[57]

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[55] Samuel C. Parker, *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1912), chap. 15.

[56] Dorothy McMurry, *Herbartian Contributions to History Instruction in American Elementary Schools*, Contributions to Education, No. 920 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1946), p. 48.

Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), also a disciple of Pestalozzi, created the idea of the kindergarten. His most important book, *The Education of Man*, was published in 1826. The dominant idea of his kindergarten was natural but directed self-activity focused upon educational, social, and moral ends. He invented "finger plays" and placed much stress on construction work, such as paper-folding, weaving, needlework, and work with sand, clay, and color. Probably the first kindergarten in the United States was organized in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1855. While no more than half of the school systems in the United States today offer a kindergarten program for five-year-olds, it seems likely that a dynamic expansion of early childhood education will occur in the United States during the later 1970s.

THE STATE OF METHODOLOGY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By 1900 the dame school had long since disappeared and the Latin grammar school had largely become a memory. They were replaced by schools giving vernacular instruction in all the common branches of learning. By the turn of the century the child rather than the content had been proposed as the focus of all teaching. Child study in the modern sense had not yet appeared, of course, but many ideas in the process of coming of age at that time foreshadowed contemporary innovations. Memory work had begun to be replaced by more meaningful teaching. Faculty psychology had been challenged. The religious motive had been replaced with secular instruction in history, geography, science, reading, art, music, and physical education. The scientific method was being advocated and was being applied to teaching and learning with varying degrees of success. It remained for the years following 1900 to bring about refinements in all of these and the many new ideas which were to come.

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[57] The National Society for the Study of Education grew out of the National Herbart Society, founded in 1895 by DeGarmo, the McMurrys, and others, many of whom had studied under Herbartians in Germany.

EARLY INNOVATIONS THAT PRESAGED PRESENT PRACTICES

In the American elementary school of the early 1970s, in some ways, we seem to have come full circle with respect to the varied needs of individual learners. In the early New England schools, for instance, instruction was entirely individual. It was little more, however, than individual recitation of memorized material, not group instruction.[58] There were "paraprofessionals" and individual or small-group instruction in the Lancastrian schools (already described) which flourished from 1806 to 1830.[59]

By 1880 most of the schools of the larger systems of this country had adopted some form of grading, often after the model of the Quincy Grammar School in Boston. The "grades" were associated with the idea that there was a given amount of content that was to be learned at each age level. If a pupil did not master the required amount, he had to repeat the grade. This resulted in a rigid so-called lock-step system and a degree of retardation and a rate of dropout that were highly criticized as early as 1899 in books and articles on American education.[60] Again, the use of grade levels and expected standards of performance remain very much live problems today.

Most of the efforts at elementary school reform after 1860 were administrative innovations. St. Louis started quarterly promotions in 1862, so that a repeater did not lose a whole year. Cambridge, in 1893, organized a two-course program which bright pupils could finish in four years. Portland (1897) organized the nine-year program into two parallel courses which bright pupils could complete in seven years. Frederic Burk,[61] in the Santa Barbara concentric plan initiated by him in 1898, divided the pupils into A, B, and C sections, the C sections doing the minimum essentials, the B and

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[58] Parker, op. cit., pp. 90, 92.

[59] J. F. Reigart, *The Lancastrian System of Instruction in the Schools of New York City*, Contributions to Education, No. 81 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1916), chap. 5.

[60] W. J. Shearer, *The Grading of Schools* (New York: H. P. Smith Publishing Co., 1899); J. C. Boykin, "Class Intervals in City Public Schools," *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1890-1891*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.), p. 983; P. W. Search, *The Ideal School* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1901), chap. 10; C. S. Hartwell, "The Grading and Pro-

A sections having degrees of enrichment.[62] All of these reform efforts were designed to make it easier for pupils of varying ability to stay in school and to complete what it was then fashionable to call "minimum essentials" without neglecting the needs of brighter pupils. Today, of course, we have renewed emphasis upon individual differences and entirely new and more promising approaches for dealing with them.

In grading and promotion there is a similar story of change to be recounted. Starting with early instances of grading and tracing the problem down to the present, we pass through the Lancastrian and the Quincy Grammar School eras, through the rigidly graded school found from about 1860 to 1900, to the attempted reorganizations listed in the preceding paragraph, to present efforts toward continuous promotion and the establishment of the nongraded school.

Remedial instruction, which is presently so widely accepted, was begun formally in Batavia, New York, in 1898. At the time, the city had a number of large classrooms which seated eighty or more, so Superintendent John Kennedy arranged for an assistant instructor to sit in the back of the room to help those who needed it. The assistant instructors in the Batavia plan were somewhat like today's teacher aides but performed tasks and assignments which were much different from those now assigned to such personnel.

Group instruction was facilitated by the introduction of the blackboard around 1809.[63] This simple device and the techniques it made possible were a great boon to public education in that era, enabling an increasing number of children to be taught more efficiently. Today, of course, we have large-group, small-group, and individual instruction fairly well established in elementary and secondary schools. Nonetheless, there are still many unanswered

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motion of Pupils," *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association* (1910), p. 296.

[61] It is of historical interest to note that two of the best-known programs involving individualized instruction were devised by Burk's students, Mabel Parkhurst and Carleton W. Washburne.

[62] Henry J. Otto, "Historical Sketches of Administrative Innovations," *Educational Administration and Supervision* 20 (1934): 161-72.

[63] Parker, op. cit., p. 92.

questions concerning grouping practices and group instruction.

It would be incorrect to say that the nineteenth-century kindergarten was the harbinger of the tremendous interest in preschool education which has been developing during the past decade. Yet the kindergarten did call attention to the idea that organized education before age six was desirable. Although the methods and content in early childhood programs are entirely different today, interest in child study and in the role of play, music, and physical education remains strong.

By 1860 the elementary school had emerged as a distinctive institution. Some of the genre were graded, some of them having a seven-year course, while others had an eight-year or a nine-year course. The subjects taught were nearly as varied as they are today. The objectives of instruction, however, have changed materially. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century religious fervor began to weaken and more secular programs began to emerge. By 1900 the secular emphasis was practically universal, religiously oriented goals having changed in large measure to vocational, social, and academic ones. The academic content also was stripped of its religious overtones.

Whatever the flaws of the contemporary elementary school, however impatient we may be with the sometimes glacial rate of change, it nonetheless remains true that we have a proud educational heritage of elementary instruction in America. The roots of this heritage are deep and strong. The numerous significant reforms that are badly needed today in elementary education can draw on the ideas of the past. The ideas pioneered before 1900 may now seem dated, quaint, and prosaic, but our vision of tomorrow is all the clearer and the margin of our vision all the wider because we can stand on the branches that have grown from education's first roots in the New World.

CHAPTER III

The Elementary School in the Twentieth Century: A Social Context

SOL COHEN

Essentially and intrinsically, the school is a social institution, it always finds its center of interest in the civilization of which it is a part, it always operates within ideals and purposes of the existing social order. Social forces beating on it from without in large measure determine the essential elements of its philosophy, define its obligations to society, prescribe the content of its curriculum, and fashion the form of its structural organization.[1]

Newton Edwards, 1939

New Foundations for Elementary Education

The decade of the 1890s, Commager points out, is the watershed of American history. On the one side lies a predominantly agricultural America concerned with domestic problems, conforming, intellectually at least, to the political, economic, and moral principles inherited from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a nation still in the making physically and socially; an America on the whole self-confident, self-contained, self-reliant, and conscious of its unique character and of its unique destiny. On the other side lies the modern United States, predominantly urban and industrial; inextricably involved in world economy and politics; troubled with the problems that had long been thought peculiar to the Old World; experiencing profound changes in population, social organization, economy, and technology; and trying to accommodate its traditional institutions and habits of thought to conditions which were new and in part alien. "With the decade of the nineties . . . the new America came in as on flood tide." [2] The decade of the nineties heralded unmistakably the beginning of a new and unfamiliar era—in economics, in politics, in intellectual life, in social life, and in education.

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[1] Newton Edwards, *Equal Opportunity for Youth: A Report to the American Youth Commission* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939), p. 148.

The main lines of development in elementary (and secondary) education in the United States during the twentieth century may be described as a repudiation or rejection of many, if not virtually all, of the basic pedagogical assumptions of the late nineteenth century—assumptions which Paul Woodring has conveniently dubbed the "classic thesis." The classic thesis is epitomized in two National Education Association reports: the *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies* (1893) and the *Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Education* (1895). By the mid-1890s, due to the efforts of Charles W. Eliot and the prestigious Committee of Ten, it had been established that the goal of secondary education was to develop the mind through the study of academic subject matter.

The high schools, in turn, set the objectives for the elementary schools. The first and most important task of the elementary school was to make everybody a reader. Though discipline and character development were not neglected, since the child was "trained to be regular and punctual and to restrain his desire to talk and whisper, in these things gaining self-control day by day," the emphasis was on what we would today call linguistic training: "in as much as reading is the first of the scholastic arts . . . the whole elementary course may be described as an extension of the process of learning the art of reading." [3]

The report, largely written by William Torrey Harris, pointed out that in the elementary school the child is to be provided with the tools of learning with which he can appropriate the experience of the race. The essential means for the elementary school's work are in the shape of textbooks in which the experience of the race is stated in a clear and summary manner, so that a child may understand it. He has a teacher to direct his studies and instruct him in the proper methods of getting out of the books the wisdom recorded therein. In this way, the elementary school was expected to produce a cultured and disciplined person—the free individual, self-controlled, self-propelled, able to use independently the tools of thought. The Committee of Ten, the Committee of Fifteen, Eliot, Harris, and others thought they were ushering in a new age. In retrospect, they were ushering out the old. They had failed to reckon with the social forces working for change in American society at the turn of the century. Of these, none had more impact on the elementary schools than industrialization, urbanization, and the coming to America's shores of millions of impoverished and uneducated immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

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[2] Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 41.

[3] National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Education* (New York: American Book Co., 1895), pp. 44, 67, 72.

The impact of the industrial revolution in the United States was swift, powerful, and all-encompassing. It created a new nation. By the turn of the century, household and neighborhood industries, for all practical purposes, had been driven out of existence and even the processing of many agricultural products such as butter and cheese had become factory tasks. With dramatic suddenness, America emerged as the world's foremost industrial nation and became a powerful rival of England and Germany in world trade. The impact on America was profoundly shocking. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the whole face of the land was made over by the industrial revolution which irreversibly changed an agricultural country, almost overnight, into a nation of bustling factories. Made over, too, were millions of men and women from rural America and from Europe who poured into the new industrial centers and were subjected to the discipline of factory labor. Would the rural native-born and the foreign-born of greatest ethnic and religious diversity be able to adjust to, if not master, the techniques of the new industrial order? What role would the elementary schools play?

Urbanization posed an equally severe challenge for the elementary schools. As late as 1860, less than 16 percent of Americans lived in cities; in 1890, 33 percent did so, and in 1900, 40 percent. Between 1880 and 1900, Chicago grew in population from 500,000 to 1,500,000; New York City from 1,900,000 to 3,500,000; Philadelphia from 850,000 to 1,000,000. By 1900, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. had grown to about 1,000,000 inhabitants; Cincinnati, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh to about 850,000. The growth of these cities was largely unplanned. Housing was scarce, land dear. Owners piled floor atop floor, pushed buildings back to back and side to side, and the infamous tenement slum made its appearance—unsanitary, unattractive, overcrowded firetraps spread "like a scab" from Boston to Chicago.

Perhaps no factor affected the life of a child more than the growth of cities. Instead of the traditional environments of childhood celebrated in song and literature—field, garden, countryside, vacant lots—now there was the filth-soaked, dark, unventilated tenement or the alley or the street or the saloon. In the traditional American hierarchy of values, a stable and harmonious family life loomed high. But in the new city the stability of home and family and neighborhood could no longer be taken for granted. In such settings, what chance did the family have to socialize the young properly? In such settings, would the elementary school be allowed to go along in its old ways?

The growth of the city was fed by two sources, one internal, the other external. Lured by the lights, the noise, the gaiety, the variety, and the promise of jobs, the rural population swarmed into the city. Also, the city was the destination of the great majority of immigrants from the southern and eastern parts of Europe who poured into the country beginning in the 1880s. Between 1880 and 1914, some 22,000,000 immigrants flocked to America's shores. By 1900, the immigrants constituted about 70 percent of the population of the twelve largest cities in the country, while the second generation made up another 20 percent. The new immigrants—largely Italians, Greeks, Russians, Poles, usually non-English-speaking and non-Protestant—tended to cluster conspicuously in the northeastern cities where they recreated the ethnic ghettos of the Old World.

The newcomers were unprepared for the cities, and the cities were unprepared for the immigrants. Desperately poor, transplanted from lands which had provided them a scanty formal education, if any, there was little in their background to equip them for life in the city. And they were prolific bearers of children. By 1910, in the public schools of thirty-seven of America's largest cities, 57.5 percent of the children were of foreign parentage. How would the elementary schools respond to the challenge of their new clientele?

Actually, the decade called the "Gay Nineties" was more a period of despair than of optimism. Disorders and discontents plagued the nation in the closing decade of the nineteenth century. It was a time of unregulated industrial expansion, of exploitation of women and children, of class conflict, and of ethnic hostility. Society seemed on the threshold of disintegration. The belief that the New World was destined to escape the sicknesses of the Old was destroyed for many by the rise of the city. America now had the proletariat, the poverty, the slums, and the social tensions long thought peculiar to the Old World. The era resounds with the warnings of prophets like Helen Campbell, Robert Archey Woods, and Jacob Riis that the city, if not somehow tamed, would bring with it the downfall of the nation.[4] Patently, the elementary school would not be able to escape the challenge of the city as the present century began.

The jeremiads pronounced by muckrakers and social critics should have led to the deepest despair, but critics and doomsayers could find solace in a confident belief in the power of the environment to shape behavior. Since a major corollary of environmentalism is the plasticity of child nature, to go from this point to the elementary school was a short and inevitable step. The elementary school was acclaimed as the environment par excellence to which all children should submit, and, indeed, because of the increased efficiency of compulsory education laws, they would now be compelled to submit. Against a background of mounting social crisis, progressives, in a manner reminiscent of the present, seized upon the elementary schools as the great panacea. The elementary schools would have to help solve the problems of health, hygiene, recreation, industrial education, congestion of population, the assimilation of the immigrant, and more.[5] But first, the new dogma held, the elementary schools would have to be transformed. They still emphasized formal training in intellectual skills; they would have to be restructured to meet the challenge of the city.

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[4] Helen Campbell, *Darkness and Daylight* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington & Co., 1892); Robert Archey Woods, ed., *The Poor in Great Cities* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895); Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890).

[5] There is an interesting modern expression of this faith in Francis Keppel, *The Necessary Revolution in American Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). American education, Keppel writes, rests on two assumptions from which all else derives: "the idea that man is potentially good and that

The social settlement movement acted as the spearhead for reform.[6] Social workers like Robert Hunter, Jane Addams, and Lillian Wald moved into the city slums and labored to create a better world for the poor, the slum-born child, the underprivileged child, and the immigrant child. Settlement activities knew no boundaries. Settlement leaders fought for housing and sanitation reform, for elimination of sweatshops and child labor, for parks and playgrounds and, most important, for more elementary schools and for a different kind of elementary school.

As settlement residents always took their cues directly from neighborhood needs, the settlements found themselves more and more in the business of education. By the mid-1890s, with a sprawling and unmanageable educational program on their hands, they turned to the public schools for relief. They demanded that the elementary schools pay attention to the social problems of the city. Untheoretical and pragmatic at first, the whole movement for the expansion of the elementary school's responsibilities, which is characteristic of American education in the twentieth century, originated in the social and humanitarian problems of the time. It added up to a concept of the elementary school which went far beyond its traditional, formal, intellectual concerns to an active concern with broad aspects of child welfare and neighborhood improvement—a concept of the elementary school as an industrial training agency, of the elementary school as a community center, and of the elementary school as a child welfare agency. The elementary school would now have to be responsible for the "whole child."

This point is difficult to overemphasize. No more radical idea had ever been advanced in American education than this: that the elementary school could and presumably should take the place of

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this good can be brought about by education. . . . The American educational system renews each day its faith in this principle of the perfectability of man" (p. 11).

[6] Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), chap. 3.

parent and home in caring for every phase of the child's welfare. This was a major thrust of the settlement movement. To settlement residents, the city was destructive of home and family. Parents were compelled to work; they were unable to look out for their children; the children were unable to shift for themselves. All the problems of child life, proclaimed Robert Hunter of New York's University Settlement, thus became elementary school problems, and the elementary school was obliged to conquer them. The question Hunter posed in 1905 was this: "Are we to have the school ignore this larger work of education and remain a sort of dispensary of learning—an inflexible missionary of the three R's? . . . or is it to take as its responsibility the entire problem of child-life and master it? If the school does not assume this responsibility, how shall the work be done?" [7]

With these words, Hunter struck the keynote of elementary school reform in the Progressive era. Jane Addams called it "socialized education." Lillian Wald called it "socialized parental control." By World War I, this enlarged conception of the elementary school had become the central theme of school reform, a theme which has echoed through the decades from that time to the present. The movement to redirect the elementary school was not simply an urban phenomenon. Country-life spokesmen, out of concern for the abandonment of the farm for the city, called for drastic overhaul of rural elementary schools in order to make them agents for the renewal of country life. "I want to see our country schools," said Liberty Hyde Bailey, "without screwed-down seats and to see children put to work with tools and soils and plants and problems." [8] Further, to reformers, the existing school system, urban and rural, was not only irrelevant but inefficient. The "cult of efficiency," the whole machinery of tests and measurements which is currently under attack from so many quarters as inimical to real learning and teaching, grew out of the perceived need at the turn of the century to modernize and rationalize the procedures and practices of emerging mass education.[9]

[7] Robert Hunter, *Poverty* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905), p. 209.

[8] Liberty Hyde Bailey, *The Country-Life Movement in the United States* (New York: World Book Co., 1911), passim.

[9] See Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Elementary Schools of Tomorrow

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the elementary schools gradually—and often reluctantly—began to accept a "progressive" program of school reform, largely as the result of pressure from social workers, muckrakers, social reformers, and political reform movements. That is, most of the pressure for change came from outside the educational establishment. Nevertheless, thinkers like Edward L. Thorndike and John Dewey, who gave philosophical sanction to the contention that public elementary schools had to be rethought in terms fitted to meet the needs of the new urban-industrial America, helped make the new educational ideas acceptable to the rank and file of the teaching force of this country. In the vanguard, standing head and shoulders above the rest, was Dewey, the most commanding figure in the history of American education.

Dewey was a prolific writer, but not a mellifluous one. Indeed, he has been roundly criticized for his snake-like prose.[10] Nowhere, however, is he clearer than in early writings such as *My Pedagogic Creed* and *School and Society*, and the publication of *Schools of Tomorrow* in 1915 was an important event in the history of American elementary education.

Perhaps the chief significance of *Schools of Tomorrow* lies in how completely it breaks with nineteenth-century traditions in American education. American education previously had been considered to be as democratic as the ingenuity of man could make it. It remained for Dewey to repudiate the traditional American education as undemocratic and medieval, suitable only for an aristocratic and professional elite. Dewey especially repudiated the linguistic emphasis in elementary education, dismissing it as a "fetish." "Upon the whole," wrote Dewey in an autobiographical sketch, "the forces that have influenced me have come from persons and from situations more than from books." [11]

What sort of elementary education, then, was suitable for twentieth-century America? Dewey's answer was an education built around "occupations." Urging a curriculum centered around the world of work was a stroke of genius. On the one hand, it fit in with the new child-centered pedagogy of Francis Parker and G. Stanley Hall; what the children were interested in was occupations. It also found support in the "new psychology" of Thorndike, which held that learning was specific, a product of action, of doing something. But especially, in formulating an elementary school curriculum built around occupations, Dewey was providing an answer to the exigencies of the time. A curriculum organized around occupations would help meet the requirements of the new America for a dependable and efficient pool of industrial labor. More important, it would help meet the nation's need for a new moral and social discipline. Dewey, like many others, was much concerned about the weakening of the bonds of social discipline and control: "We might as well frankly recognize," he states in an essay written at the turn of the century, "that many of the old agencies for moralizing mankind, and of keeping them living decent, responsible, and orderly lives, are losing in efficiency . . ." [12]

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[10] See Martin S. Dworkin, ed., "Introduction," in *Dewey on Education: Selections* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1959).

[11] John Dewey, "From Absolutism to Experimentalism," in *Contemporary American Philosophy*, eds., G. P. Adams and W. P. Montague, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 22.

Dewey looked to the elementary schools to foster the necessary social discipline and cohesion and national unity. Occupations were to be introduced into the elementary school, Dewey stressed, not to provide better seamstresses and cooks, not even as conveyers of education, even industrial education, but as a way of life. "We must conceive of work in wood and metal, or weaving, sewing, and cooking, as methods of living and learning, not as distinct studies." [13] Nineteenth-century elementary education was concerned with developing individuality and ambition. This was now passé and dangerous, for what was required was a corrective for the individualistic, egotistic tendencies of American life. To Dewey, an elementary education built around occupations best fostered in children the special social traits which the times required. Where active work is going on, a spirit of social cooperation and community life is developed. Thus, Dewey hoped to bring about the new society where cooperation rather than competition would rule. In his own words, "When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely and harmonious." [14] Here was Dewey's and the progressives' answer to the social problem.

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[12] John Dewey, "The School as Social Center," *Elementary School Teacher* 3 (October 1902): 74.

[13] John Dewey, *School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899), pp. 11 ff.

Schools of Tomorrow contained a description of the elementary schools which Dewey and his daughter visited and observed. In the schools they visited they saw healthy, happy children playing and working in school shops and kitchens, studying nature out of doors, and thereby presumably learning the fundamentals of the three R's, and history, science, mathematics, and geography. But it was William Wirt's platoon school in Gary, Indiana, to which Dewey accorded the most comprehensive treatment. The boldly innovative Wirt had devised a radical scheme of industrial education which started in the fourth grade, employed skilled laborers as instructors, used workshops as classrooms, engaged children as apprentices in all the maintenance, repair, and construction work needed in the school, and correlated all the subjects of instruction around "occupations." Further, the children's health and recreation were looked after, and the schools were used as community centers. As Wirt explained, the children of Gary led a complete life—eight hours a day of work-study-play. As *The New Republic's* Randolph Bourne put it, the Gary school plan represented "the most complete and admirable application yet attempted" of Dewey's educational philosophy.[15]

A New Deal for Elementary School Children

The chief tendency in American school reform in the twentieth century may be summed up in one word—*more*—more money, more teachers, more buildings, and more responsibilities.[16] By

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[14] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[15] Randolph S. Bourne, *The Gary Schools* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916), p. 144.

[16] Americans, characteristically, have thought that "more" was the solution to all problems. For a suggestive discussion of the effects of affluence on

World War I, educational progressives had arrived at a conception of a public school, especially at the elementary level, whose major functions were vastly expanded beyond formal instruction to encompass responsibilities formerly left to other agencies—a conception of the elementary school, in Cremin's felicitous term, as a "legatee" institution.[17] By 1917, the elementary schools had vastly enlarged their activities to take account of the physical, social, recreational, and vocational needs of children. In the 1920s school reformers went further by demanding that the elementary school assume responsibility for the child's social and emotional adjustment. This aspect of educational innovation in the twenties has been largely neglected or overlooked.

There are at least two facets of progressive education. There is the Rousseauistic, romantic ideal of self-expression, and there is the social, collectivistic ideal. The former encourages individual self-expression, the latter urges "group activity" and social adjustment. The ideal of self-expression is well known and usually is taken to be the essence of progressive education in the 1920s; collectivism is often considered the essence of progressive education in the thirties. But the pronounced social orientation of many school reformers in the twenties defeats any effort to make a sharp division between the twenties and thirties by calling the first child-centered and the second society-centered.

American school reform, then, especially at the elementary level, began to wear new garments in the 1920s, reflecting changes in the social and intellectual climate of the time. To many, hedonism was the hallmark of the twenties. Some of the labels given to the decade reflect this, as in the "Age of the Flapper," or the "Roaring Twenties." In the spirit of the time, F. Scott Fitzgerald has Amory Blaine in *This Side of Paradise* declare: "Here was a new generation . . . grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken." All they knew was that "America was going on the greatest, gaudiest spree in history." The restraints and shackles

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the American character, see David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

[17] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Random House, 1961).

of Puritanism and Victorianism were to be overthrown; America was to be redeemed by Picasso and Freud, by creative self-expression and psychoanalysis. America seemed to be going Greenwich Village, a spirit evoked beautifully in Malcolm Cowley's *Exile's Return.* Everyone wanted to be young and gay. Parents were to be emancipated. Youthful wives wanted to be flappers and "lead their own lives." Chanting slogans like "come out of the kitchen" and "never darn a sock," they rebelled against the age-old household tasks of women. The new woman was to be freed from the responsibilities of child-rearing; the elementary school would educate the "whole child." The child, too, was to be freed—freed by art and Freud. Elementary school reform movements in the 1920s, of course, reflect this mood, at least in educational rhetoric and so, one might add, do contemporary school reform movements reflect something of the same mood.

But it is erroneous to think of the 1920s solely in terms of jazz and booze and prosperity. The twenties were also, and most importantly so far as elementary school developments were concerned, a time of grave internal dissension and of social disorganization, a period of serious division and divisiveness in American life.[18] In a quest for security and homogeneity, some Americans—the hundred percenters and the Ku Kluxers—turned to behavior control through the techniques of restriction, repression, and violence. Other equally perplexed and fearful Americans, including an important segment of liberal thinkers and liberal organizations, eschewed methods of violence or legal coercion and turned to the more benign techniques of psychology and the social sciences as the key to a new integration. For them, mental health, i.e., social and emotional adjustment, was to serve as the new unifying ideal.

As usual, all paths led to the elementary schools. But there was something more involved in elementary school reform activities of the twenties than a response to social crises, a response to the exigencies of the time, something more than a quest for security. There was also a utopian element in elementary school reform activities that must be reckoned with. The chiliastic hopes that characterized movements for social reform in the Progressive era survived in the twenties in the field of elementary education. School reformers were possessed with a vision of new schools producing a new American man and a new era. Through the right education, every child was to become a happy, well-adjusted, productive individual and a valuable social asset.[19] The pervasive influence of the mental hygiene movement created the climate in which such dreams could thrive.

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[18] In general, see William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

Of all the intellectual developments of the twentieth century, few have had a more direct and widespread influence on the theory and practice of American elementary education than what can be subsumed under the heading of the mental hygiene movement, a strange compound of Freudian psychoanalysis and Watsonian behaviorism. In the writings of spokesmen for the mental hygiene movement, like William Alanson White, Adolf Meyer, Jessie Taft, and William H. Burnham, the pattern for a new elementary school theory and practice can be found, a pattern in which the following are key strands: (a) the family was a sick institution, a source of neurosis; (b) there was no such thing as a bad child, only bad parents and maladjusted or sick children; (c) maladjustment, antisocial behavior, and neurosis could be prevented or ameliorated; (d) the emotional life of the individual was the key to behavior; (e) the emotions could be molded or trained or controlled if the right environment was supplied in childhood; (f) the elementary school was the strategic agency for the training of the emotions (childhood, in the notable words of Dr. White, was "the golden period for mental hygiene");[20] and, finally, (g) the elementary school's essential task was the social adjustment of the child.[21] But first, the elementary schools would have to be transformed.

Among persons concerned with maladjustment and neurosis and juvenile delinquency, school failure and nonpromotion were prime targets in the 1920s even as in the 1970s. Failure and retardation would have to be eliminated, said the reformers, by minimizing or abandoning formal courses of instruction, academic standards, and competition and achievement. In their place would be substituted projects, play, and creative self-expression through art and other aesthetic activities. The precept "release the creative energies of the child" rapidly became one of the slogans of the new elementary education. It is evident that the ethic of psychoanalysis and that of creative self-expression were joined in the mental hygiene movement. For some, the absence of creativity was deemed not only a symptom of neursosis, but the very essence of it. Conversely, the release of creativity came close to being identical with mental health.

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[19] See Elizabeth Irwin and Louis Marks, *Fitting the School to the Child* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924).

[20] "Childhood: The Golden Period for Mental Hygiene," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 98 (November 1921): 54-67.

[21] For elaboration, as well as documentation, see Sol Cohen, *Progressives and Urban School Reform* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), chap. 4.

When the elementary school emerged as the agency responsible for the deliberate adjustment of personality, school reformers could ask no more. Now they had to implement their vision in the classroom. This meant educating teachers, educating laymen and parents, and reorganizing elementary school principles and practices. This was one of the tasks of the Progressive Education Association which was organized in the spring of 1919 by Stanwood Cobb and a small coterie of wealthy Washington matrons, private school teachers, and a sprinkling of public school people. Charles W. Eliot was persuaded to serve as honorary president. What had formerly been a rather loosely joined revolt against pedagogical formalism now gained a vigorous organizational voice. Only a few people were involved, but the PEA was launched as an ambitious venture. "It must not be thought," Cobb declared, "that either our purpose or our effort was confined to a group of private schools. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Our aim from the very beginning had in it very little of modesty. We aimed at nothing short of reforming the entire school system of America." [22]

From the beginning, something of an evangelic fervor suffused the association's activities. Progressive education, as Cobb put it, was "a great humanitarian movement for the benefit of the world's children. . . . It is a Cause—it enlists parents as well as educators in its loyal and aggressive ranks. It is willing to make sacrifices, to endure, to battle for what it considers right." [23] But what was the

[22] Stanwood Cobb, "The Romance of Beginnings," *Progressive Education* 6 (1929): 67.

[23] Ibid.

right? The answer was apparently an uneasy balance of creativity and individual self-fulfillment and social adjustment, in which priority in practice inevitably went to social adjustment.[24]

The Era of Depression

On Thursday, October 24, 1929, scrambling, yelling traders dumped 12,895,000 shares of stock on the New York Stock Exchange. On the Tuesday next, the word was "sell" for 16,410,000 more. The stock market collapsed and ushered in the longest and most severe depression in the nation's history. Unemployment began to mount. A year after the crash, of a population of 100,000,000, 6,000,000 men walked the streets looking for work; in 1931, 8,000,000; and in 1932, 13,000,000 were unemployed. The farmer, who had already seen little of the prosperity of the twenties, was now devastated by the Great Depression. Fear of the breadline penetrated the middle class.

At first, the country refused to believe what was happening. "Life is just a bowl of cherries, don't take it serious, it's too mysterious," was one of the hit songs of the winter of 1931. But soon, uneasy confidence gave way to worry and worry to bitterness. As the depression ground past its third year, endemic uneasiness seeped through the nation. There was fear, gloom, violence, and talk of revolution. In the early thirties, food riots were common, as was labor violence. Demagogues like Father Coughlin, Francis Townsend, and Huey Long made thousands of converts, as did the Khaki Shirts and the Minute Men. "There'll be a revolution for sure," a Los Angeles banker predicted, "the farmers will rise up. So will labor. The Reds will run the country—or maybe the Fascists."[25]

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[24] The sort of tightrope-walking act involved here is well illustrated by the "new articles of faith" as described in Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, *The Child Centered School*. Thus, Article Five is "Release the creative energies of the child." Article Six is on "personality and social adjustment"; i.e., the new school "encourages the child to be a distinct personality, an individualist, . . . but of course not to an unjustifiable degree. It sets up situations which provide constant practice in co-operative living. . . ." Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, *The Child Centered School* (New York: John Day, 1928), pp. 64-65.

[25] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933*, vol. 1 of *The Age of Roosevelt* (London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1957), p. 4.

And, indeed, in the 1930s, the Nazis and the Fascists and the Communists abroad were on the move.

Youth became one of the prime casualties of the depression. It was estimated as of 1935 that 4,200,000 youths, aged sixteen to twenty-four, were out of school and out of work. Millions of them, idle, broke, brooding, led a life of "tragic purposelessness," creating a new class of the socially disinherited and an enormous problem. "Which way America's youth?" was a question many Americans were asking by the mid-thirties, glancing over their shoulders at the youth in Europe, who were on the march. Would an American youth movement develop? If it did, what direction would it take? Against this background, one can better understand the preoccupation of American educators in the 1930s with "the needs of democracy." The country was being challenged from within and without, and the devotion of America's youth to democracy could no longer be taken for granted. "If someone came along with a line of stuff in which I could really believe," said one youth in the winter of 1932, "I'd follow him pretty near anywhere." Youth had to be kept safe and sane and wholesome and well-adjusted. This was the task of the public schools.[26]

In this context it was not surprising that elementary school reformers would score some of their greatest breakthroughs during the thirties. Now, more than ever, in the confusion and demoralization bound to follow in the wake of a crisis such as a worldwide depression, was the time to turn to the elementary schools and the education of the "whole child." Most revealing here are a series of publications in the 1930s and 1940s by the influential Educational Policies Commission of the NEA, of which the following statements are representative: The function of elementary education is to "mold the child in the interest of his future economic efficiency, his future adult citizenship, and his future membership in the family" (1938); a "good elementary school . . . emphasizes social responsibility and the co-operative skills necessary to the progressive improvement of social institutions . . ." (1948). The theme of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth was "For Every Child a Healthy Personality."[27] It should come as no surprise therefore that the prevailing commitment of the elementary school teacher by the early fifties was "his commitment to a conception of education as in essence the guidance or shaping of social and attitudinal development." [28]

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[26] See, in general, the report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933); especially Lawrence K. Frank, "Childhood and Youth"; William F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions"; Sophia B. Breckenridge, "The Activities of Women Outside the Home"; and Charles Judd, "Education."

Progressivism in education prospered as Americans in increasing numbers turned to the elementary schools to succor the child and preserve the democratic way of life. For example, in the thirties, the PEA reached its peak membership of over 10,000. And by the mid-thirties, thanks to grants from the Carnegie Foundation and the General Education Board, the association was more affluent and active than ever. On October 31, 1938, *Time* magazine featured Frederick L. Redefer, Executive Secretary of the PEA, on its cover. The story was entitled "Progressive's Progress." *Time* quoted Redefer as saying, "We are no longer a rebel group." Twenty years ago, Redefer stated, progressive education was mainly a private school affair. Now it was predominantly a public school affair with strongholds in the elementary schools in New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Detroit, San Francisco, and elsewhere. However, the zenith was not far from the nadir. Within a decade, the association was moribund—a few packing crates of files, with their freight bills unpaid, on a school loading platform in Winnetka, its long-time haven.[29]

Upheavals and Reform Movements

James B. Conant remarks that only in the fifties did Americans become concerned about the great changes which had taken place in the public schools. This is true. In the fifties, the ill-named, ill-famed, "life-adjustment" movement, for example, came under fire as it never would have a decade earlier. But it was the launching of Sputnik in 1957 that proved catalytic. Then, against a background of deepening public concern over national security, the voracious demands of an "expert society" for trained manpower and skilled technicians, and the emergence of a new generation of parents who possessed the education, the competence, and the motivation to be concerned with the quality of education their children were receiving, the dam of criticism burst. As noted above, one of the early victims, in 1955, was the Progressive Education Association.[30]

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[27] Through a "wise selection of experiences in . . . the functional areas of living," *For Every Child a Healthy Personality: A Digest of The Fact-finding Report to the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth* (Washington, D.C.: 1950), pp. 100 ff.

[28] Gordon C. Lee, "The Changing Role of the Teacher," in *The Changing American School*, Sixty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 16. In general, see Claude A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969).

[29] The story is told in Patricia A. Graham, *From Arcady to Academe:*

In the 1950s, a new educational line—cognitive essentialist or counter-progressive—made its appearance. Whereas the central thrust of elementary school reform for close to three-quarters of a century had been expansionist in seeking to extend the functions of the elementary school, the central effort of the fifties and sixties was rather to define more precisely the elementary school's responsibility, to delineate those things the elementary school needed to do, especially in the area of intellectual or cognitive development, which would not get done at all if the elementary school did not do them. This was the major theme of the 1956 White House Conference on Education. It was pointed out that in attempting to provide all manner of services for children, the elementary school was doing nothing excellently. Appealing to the ideal of equality of opportunity, to the ideal of a fresh start for each generation, the conference called for a new set of educational priorities and explicitly stated that "the development of the intellectual

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A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955 (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967).

[30] As recently as 1940, three Americans in five had never been to high school; only one in four had completed high school. By 1960 three in five had been to high school and over 40 percent were high school graduates. It was this rapidly growing group of educated parents who hoped their children were going on to a higher education who provided the audience in the fifties and sixties for books like *Educational Wastelands*, *Quackery in the Public Schools*, *The Diminished Mind*, *Schools without Scholars*, *The Mis-Education of American Teachers*, *Why Johnny Can't Read*, and who provide the support for organizations like the Council for Basic Education and for schools which follow the Montessori method.

powers of young people, each to the limit of his capacity, is the first responsibility of schools."[31]

By the sixties, evidence of the new hard line was available on every hand. For example, the federal government, through the National Defense Education Act and the National Science Foundation, expended millions of dollars to upgrade the quality of teaching on both elementary and secondary school levels. Largely on the initiative of university scholars who were not themselves professional educationalists, from such distinguished institutions as MIT, Harvard, and the University of Illinois, and with the support of agencies like the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, new high school curricula made their appearance. There were even more drastic developments in the elementary school. Jerome Bruner, in 1960, stressed the obvious but neglected point that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."[32] Much of today's elementary school curriculum reform is based on this hypothesis; for example, the renewed interest in early reading; teaching children foreign languages, mathematics and science, and the "structure" of knowledge; and the disciplines approach to curriculum.

The foregoing is not intended to suggest that the pressures for the reform of elementary education came only from the academics or the foundations or the parents of college-bound children. In the past two decades, the demands for the strengthening of elementary education have been reinforced by a revolution in race relations. In 1954, after a long, carefully planned legal campaign led by the NAACP, the Supreme Court concluded in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (of Topeka, Kansas) that "segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws." The Supreme Court subsequently left with district courts the duty of enforcing compliance "with all deliberate speed." With the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision, the "Second American Revolution" began.

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[31] U.S. President's Committee for the White House Conference on Education, *A Report to the President* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 11.

[32] Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 33. And see, in general, for developments in the fifties and sixties, John I. Goodlad, "The Curriculum," and Francis S. Chase, "School Change in Perspective," in *The Changing Amercian School*, Sixty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). Also, Ronald Gross and Judith Murphy, *The Revolution in the Schools* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964).

Reactions to desegregation were at first nonviolent and restrained. By 1964, however, blacks and whites alike had become more aggressive and violent. More and more attention was turned to the inequality of the treatment of Negroes and other nonwhites in the North, especially in elementary education. A major area of concern of civil rights advocates became that of improving the quality of public elementary school education in the urban centers of the nation, especially for culturally disadvantaged children. Civil rights advocates called upon the elementary schools to provide the kind of compensatory education which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation. In response to the thrust of the civil rights movement, as well as to other developments in American life referred to earlier, the infusion of excellence and quality into American elementary education now came to be one of the prime concerns of the federal government, maintaining its high priority during the administrations of both Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

The federal government responded to the changing climate of opinion with an extraordinary series of laws and a massive influx of funds, culminating in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which committed the government to expenditures of $1.3 billion for 1965 alone. But, paradoxically, where money had once been deemed a cure-all, the massive influx of funds has apparently had little effect, as the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* testifies. Education in a democratic society, the report begins, must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community-at-large, the elementary schools have discharged this responsibility well. But, the report continued, for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the elementary schools are failing miserably: "In the critical skills—verbal and reading ability—Negro students are falling further behind whites with each year of school completed." [33]

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[33] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 11-12.

Many liberals advocate a singularly controversial and audacious experiment in social engineering—bussing to achieve a racial mix in elementary schools—as the only way to improve the educational standards and opportunities of the poor. On the other hand, some thoughtful observers like James Coleman and Kenneth Clark are beginning to think the unthinkable, or what at least was unthinkable until recently. They argue that the inner city elementary schools have failed so badly to cope with the problems of disadvantaged children that these schools might well be replaced or radically altered by contracting out education to nonpublic organizations, to private firms, for example, through so-called performance contracting. More recently, the "voucher plan" has gained adherents from the vigorous advocacy of Christopher Jencks. Others, influenced by the work of Benjamin Bloom or Piaget, are turning to the preschool, to early childhood education, as the solution to the problems of urban education. Meanwhile, the large audience attracted to the work of "deschoolers" like Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich, and A. S. Neill gives increasing evidence that even the community-at-large is no longer satisfied with the elementary school's performance.

America's is surely the most extraordinary school system. No other school system in the world deals with students in such great numbers and with so much liberality and persistence. Yet there has never been a time when there has been more dissatisfaction with the schools. Of course, the schools have contributed to the power, the affluence, and the remarkable technological achievements of the nation. Yet one aspect of the democratic revolution in the United States was that America was to be the land of the fresh start. The school was cast as one of the chief agents of social mobility and self-improvement. Within the past few decades, however, there is increasing evidence that the American public school system, more elaborate and more efficient than ever before, has paradoxically become less effective as an instrument of social mobility, let alone of individual self-fulfillment. Indeed, there is increasing evidence, as a spate of books by Goodman, Illich, John Holt, George Dennison, Jonathan Kozol, Herbert Kohl, and Jules Henry vigorously point out, that the educational practices of our public schools have resulted in consolidating or intensifying the distinctions among the classes and stifling or deflecting into mean channels the potential of many who pass through their doors. Little wonder the battle cry of these neoprogressives, deschoolers, and hippies of whatever age is "School is dead. Long live education." [34] Little wonder that many others should find attractive the idea that the school be replaced by a loosely organized "open" and informal approach to education, utilizing home, television, office and factory, and store front learning centers of various kinds.

Elementary Education in the Twentieth Century: Retrospect and Conclusion

There is presently, as mentioned above, an enormous amount of frustration and dissatisfaction with the elementary schools. The critics and reformers range from right to left on both the political and educational spectra. Regardless of ideological presupposition or specific complaint, the critics share many characteristics. In the first place, they seem to be oblivious of the gap between educational assertion (and educational publication) and educational practice. There has always been an enormous slippage from educational ideas to implementation in elementary schools and classrooms. There is one level of dialogue about what is educationally desirable and, far removed from that, another level of implementation.[35] Apparently unaware of this fact of educational life, elementary school critics tend to concentrate on ideology, while underestimating or neglecting the operational requirements for effectively implementing their proposals on any large scale in the public schools. In the second place, there is an unfortunate tendency to equate education and schooling, so that elementary education and the elementary school

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34. The neobehaviorist reaction to the current child-centered or "romantic" critics or reformers has not been long in coming. See, in general, B. F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971). For curricular and instructional applications of the "behavioral objectives" approach, see three slim treatises by W. James Popham and Eva L. Baker, *Establishing Instructional Goals, Planning an Instructional Sequence*, and *Systematic Instruction* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1970). Joseph Featherstone, looking towards the much admired British Infant Schools, tries to reestablish the "classic thesis" on a modern footing in a popular series of *New Republic* articles reprinted in his *Schools Where Children Learn* (New York: Liveright, 1971).

35. John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein et al., *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970).

are, in the minds of many critics, virtually synonymous. This is an egregious mistake. A primary example is the impact of television. By the time he graduates from high school, a child has attended school for approximately 12,000 hours and watched TV for about 15,000! Television, for good or ill, may very well be the more powerful educative influence.[36] Furthermore, home and peer group, as James S. Coleman has persuasively demonstrated, likewise contribute enormously to educational performance.[37]

In the third place, critics attribute exaggerated importance to the role of the elementary school in society. To many critics, the schools are the source of all social ills, or the basis of all social improvement. This would be saying that food, clothing, shelter, jobs, the character and quality of the country's political and intellectual and social leadership, its economy, its laws, and its foreign relations have nothing to do with the quality of life of the country's inhabitants. In the fourth place, critics share a strain of perfectionist absolutism—a longing for total solutions and impatience with compromise and piecemeal reforms. Public elementary schools in the United States are compared not with any real elementary school system, past or present, but to an absolute ideal in a world which can only strive for perfection. In the fifth place, critics neglect the profound implications for the elementary schools of the enormous changes which have, in this century, created a novel and perplexing world. The transformations in industry and society and culture have been so complete and pervasive that a president of the American Historical Association has called for reclassification of historical periods: the premodern age and the modern age, separated by about the year 1900.[38]

For more than seventy years, the swiftly moving currents of social change have placed upon the elementary schools new and enlarged responsibilities. It is these changes which define many of the major problems of American elementary education: the conquest of a continent, mass immigration, incredibly rapid industrialization, two world wars, a worldwide economic depression. More recent pressures have been the impact of technology, the migration of blacks and other poor and minority groups to northern cities, the flight of the white (and increasingly, the black) middle classes and of corporations to the suburbs, the declining tax base of urban areas, regional differences in economic resources, the emergence of the small-family pattern, changes in the age structure of the population, the civil rights revolution, and the impact of the mass media. Another extremely important factor has been the increasing role of the courts. For example, one not only can recall the Warren Court's opinions on school desegregation, but can also note that lately the property tax as a basis for school support has been attacked in a California court decision, while the concept of the "neighborhood" school district has even more recently been challenged in a lower-court decision involving Richmond, Virginia. Together, these decisions, if upheld by the Supreme Court, could result in an entirely new basis for the elementary schools.

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[36] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965).

[37] James S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966).

[38] Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review* 68 (January 1963): 316-17.

One could go on. The changes mentioned above and many others have forced a painful rethinking of educational policy on the elementary school level. In addition, one should not overlook the problems inherent in the rapid, extensive, and extraordinary expansion of the school system itself.[39] The undue disillusion with elementary education is the reverse side of the coin of educational utopianism which was referred to earlier. To place responsibility at the profession's feet for all the present defects in elementary education is to ignore the relationships which exist between the flow of social events and the school. Among the current crop of elementary school critics and elementary school reformers this point is too often ignored. Much of the criticism and many of the

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39. For example, total school enrollment at all levels for 1970-71 was almost 59,000,000. This army was taught or led or controlled by more than 3,000,000 teachers plus another 224,000 administrators or supervisors, plus 128,000 school board members. School budget for current expenditures and capital outlay stood at $70 billion! Comparable figures for just ten years earlier were 45,760,000 pupils; 2,038,000 teachers; 144,000 school board members and a $27 billion budget (*Saturday Review*, September 19, 1970, p. 67). Compare with some figures for the halcyon days of 1889-1890: total enrollment about 12,750,000; total expenditures, about $95 million. See U.S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1961), pp. 18-19.

attempts at reform overlook the fact that the schools mirror the society of which they are a part. "Things fall apart," as the great Irish poet, W. B. Yeats, wrote, "the centre cannot hold." Before wide-scale elementary school reforms can succeed, more attention than has hitherto been paid needs to be given to repairing the total fabric of American society.

To summarize, there are two major themes that run through elementary school reform programs in the twentieth century. In the first place, educational reformers never lost sight of their major objective—to shape a public school system to meet the social exigencies of the time. The second major theme, following from the first, is a concept of an elementary school whose functions are vastly expanded beyond formal instruction in logically organized bodies of subject matter to encompass responsibilities formerly left to other social agencies.

At the turn of the century, America began to come to grips with the fundamental tasks of reintegrating the social order. Confronted with baffling and urgent social problems, Americans turned to the elementary schools as the "Great Panacea." The elementary schools were to assume novel responsibilities in order to meet the challenge of the new urban-industrial United States of America emerging in the late nineteenth century. The characteristic expression of American pedagogical progressivism in the twentieth century is found in the statement that elementary (as well as secondary) education is regarded as a means to social ends.

Indeed, elementary education in the United States has been distinguished by the broad, almost unlimited social responsibilities it placed on the shoulders of teachers. Nor is this emphasis likely to recede in the future. The clock cannot be turned back on changes in our family and social and economic life. For example, the old middle-class values of thrift, work, achievement, and competition have been assaulted in the twentieth century all along the line. The work ethic is being challenged by a play ethic, competition by cooperation, character by personality, the individualistic ethic by the social ethic. This is the message of William Whyte's *The Organization Man* and David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd.* The elementary schools are oriented to such considerations. Change a word here and there and what many an elementary school principal is prescribing is what many a personnel man is prescribing—getting along with people is one of the great desiderata.

We are a nation of nomads—rootless, highly mobile, constantly on the move. Such a life places a premium on social skills, sociability, and social adjustment, especially to make life smoother for the children. Elementary schools are called upon to supply the psychological supports and social skills no longer provided by the family and neighborhood. It is no wonder they emphasize sociability, personality development, and leisure time activities. The tremendous instability of marriage and the family will keep the pressure on elementary schools to educate the "whole child." Our great concern with the personal and social problems of living, with mental health and emotional adjustment, no less than our concern with securing racial understanding and fair play for minority groups and culturally disadvantaged groups, support the social tendencies of the elementary school.

If this analysis is accurate, it seems fair to conclude that the major tendency of American elementary school development in this century has been towards what may be called a society-centered school and not, as the conventional wisdom would have it, a child-centered school. That is, the elementary schools were only secondarily interested in teaching cognitive skills, and sometimes not at all. Nor indeed has the elementary school's major aim been personal cultivation or private aesthetic pleasure, though the Rousseauistic, romantic, individualistic strain in American elementary education has always had its articulate and well-publicized supporters, especially in the 1920s and again in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Rather, the major function of the elementary school has been to inculcate the norms and attitudes and skills thought essential to orderly, safe, urban living. It is true that the child's needs were given consideration, but it had already been established that the most important of the child's needs was an ability to adjust nicely to the requirements of urban industrial America. The problem currently is that for many citizens this is no longer a desideratum; the cost in terms of *humane* living and learning has been too great. Plato wrote: "What is honored in a country will be cultivated there." American elementary schools provide training for life in

America. But America is divided over its own basic values; it is by no means clear about the goals it wishes education to serve. If there is conflict in elementary education, it is because there is conflict about basic values. To understand our elementary schools from the perspective suggested in this essay enables us to appraise them in a much more rational and fruitful way than when educational dialogue takes the form of a medieval morality play in which the "children of light" and the "children of darkness" compete for the minds of men, or the minds of our children.

CHAPTER IV

These Are the Schools—Issues and Options

ALICE MIEL

During its long existence the American elementary school has been variously lauded for its achievements, blamed for its failures, or simply ignored. At the turn of the century it was given credit for developing literacy and patriotism in the children of the masses. Recently, it has been faulted for causing, as its critics charge, so many children, especially those of the depressed minorities, to feel unworthy and incapable of learning what the school expects. More often than not, however, the elementary school has been taken for granted as a necessary but relatively insignificant and uninteresting preliminary event, overshadowed in importance by secondary and higher education.

Problems and Promising Prospects

Today, however, the elementary school finds itself in a novel position. On the one hand, it is receiving at last the respectful attention of a wide range of people—among others, physicists and mathematicians, psychologists and psychiatrists, social planners and educational theorists. The period of childhood, instead of being dismissed as a waiting period to be filled with learning a few basic skills and storing up facts for later use, is now seen as critically important in the full development of a person capable of coping with and enjoying the complexities of the modern world.

On the other hand, the elementary school is suffering from an identity crisis. Some would extend it downward, some would create a new "middle" school out of its upper classes, and a few would even do away with the compulsory elementary school altogether. Accordingly, the optimum organizational and instructional arrangements for educating this age group are the subject of earnest debate.

Few would claim that the present institution fulfills the American dream of a common school where all the children of all the people would be educated together. Because of economic inequities and racial prejudice, restrictive housing patterns prevail in urban centers, suburbia, and exurbia alike. This leads to de facto segregation of elementary school children in many communities. The American tradition of supporting schools through local taxes also has proved inimical to the ideal of equality of educational opportunity. The vast distance between the best supported and most poorly financed elementary schools in terms of physical plant, pupil-teacher ratio, special services, and instructional materials is shocking.

Teaching practices, too, have fallen short of the ideal. Few would claim that what goes on within the present institution represents anywhere near the best that the profession can attain. The high quality of mass-produced textbooks and the many well-developed ways of organizing, teaching, and testing large numbers of children actually have tempted teachers to depersonalize the process of education, in spite of continuing discoveries about differences in children and their backgrounds. The testimony of numerous observers of the classroom scene reveals a discouraging gap between teaching ideas long accepted as superior and the actual events in the typical classroom.[1]

As usual, there are strong proponents for each of the various remedies proposed for short-run solutions. Many of the proposals may be classed as primarily *organizational*—the Joplin plan, the Dual Progress plan, ungrading the elementary school, team teaching. Proposals that deal with *curriculum* and *instruction* tend to have one of two main thrusts. They center either on humanizing the whole operation or on insuring the development of basic cognitive skills through thorough planning and direction of learning tasks. Too often, the proposals are presented as dichotomous options rather than as alternative models to be considered and even blended into the total program of a single elementary school.

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[1] See, for example, John I. Goodlad and M. Frances Klein, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970); Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970).

On one thing, most are agreed. The present elementary school is not good enough for today, let alone for tomorrow when problems of work and leisure, over- and under-consumption, health, breathing space, and a score of others will have to be faced on a worldwide scale. Those now responsible for the elementary school, if they are not to preside over an increasingly obsolete institution, have no choice but to participate in fashioning educational arrangements responsive to this generation of children. Increasingly, viable alternatives for improving the schools are emerging.

Emerging Opportunities

Today's educators are not the first to face this challenge, but their situation differs from that of their predecessors in two important respects. First, they must respond to changes that are more drastic and sudden than those of former years. Second, as they respond they now have many more resources available. They have an accumulation of useful knowledge resulting from years of work by philosophers, psychologists, social and natural scientists, as well as educators. Also, the vast efforts of recent years to improve elementary education have yielded many tested ideas upon which to build as well as more abundant, if not always superior, materials of instruction to implement the ideas. At the same time, forms and strategies of change that appear less productive have been called into question. The result is that there are an unprecedented number of options available in the field of elementary education. Possibly this is a time, too, when educators and their publics, rather than seeking one solution as a panacea, may be ready to look to constructive combinations of options as the best set of arrangements for children's education.

The remainder of this chapter deals with some of those options with respect to (a) purpose and direction, (b) instructional environments, (c) content, (d) teaching modes, and (e) decision-making.

Purpose and Direction

When one seeks to examine the purposes the school is to serve and the direction in which it might best exert its influence, two questions come to the fore: (a) What does the society want to be and become? (b) What part can and should the school play in socializing the young of this society?

The school in a tradition-bound society is counted upon to help the society maintain itself by teaching what the elders believe they already know. In other words, the society wants to remain largely what it already is. One would hope that the goals of a relatively open democratic society would be different.

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATIONAL DIRECTIONS

In a democracy there is a unique relationship between the individual and the society. The individual is important but so, too, is the society upon which individuals depend for the security and stimulation necessary for personal growth. This means that there are no simple rules that can be taught to the young like "all for the group" or "all for the individual." Judgment is involved in maintaining a useful tension between the best interests of both and not allowing tyranny to be exercised on either side. Equally essential is the sensitive task of encouraging the individual to respect and foster his own uniqueness, both for his own sake and for the enrichment of the group. Thus, *socialization* in a democracy has *individuation* as an indispensable component. Such a society wants to become something better than mankind has ever known, a setting in which individual members can reach undreamed of levels of human development.

An open democracy has a dual problem. It must maintain its essential character as a democracy and, at the same time, adjust the particular ways it applies democratic principles when new conditions arise. A few examples of the problem created by new conditions are when a fresh interpretation of the right of free speech is necessitated by an intruder in a large professional conference seizing the microphone, or when substitutes for the New England town meeting are needed in large cities, or when the sacrifices asked of slum dwellers moved from their homes to make room for a new expressway must be weighed against the need of suburban commuters for a fast route to drive their separate cars into the center of the city.

A democratic society wants to be a place where judgments can be made on the basis of both tested values and new information pertinent to applications of the values; only thus can it continue to be relevant and useful under current circumstances. This fortunate feature of a democracy gives weight to the thinking of both the elders and the youth of the society.

In a flexible society, where so few matters can be settled by unequivocal rules, it is necessary that young people become able to distinguish between the *essence* to be preserved and the *forms and practices* that need changing. This, in itself, presents problems, for the older generation in its zeal to avoid indoctrination may fail to teach the young the essential nature of a democracy—how hard it is to win, how easy to lose. In encouraging young people to challenge senseless ways in which institutions sometimes conduct themselves, the elders may fail to teach respect for the feelings of individuals. Rudeness and cruelty are directly antithetical to civilized and humane behavior. If a society sees destructive behavior increasing, it will need to take corrective measures through education, for not only is the society not advancing, it is not holding on to gains painfully made by man over the centuries.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

American society always has expected its elementary school to contribute in various rather explicit ways to the maintenance and advancement of the society. More often than not, however, the nature and extent of the contribution has been controversial. For instance, basic literacy has been considered essential to our growing insights into the democratic experiment, and it is no longer questioned that the school has a major responsibility for some form of intellectual development of children. However, there is frequent disagreement on the type and level of development to be fostered, the means for doing so, the proportion of total effort of the institution to be allotted to fulfilling this purpose, and the ways in which programs might be modified in recognition of individual and socioethnic differences.

Furthermore, most school patrons and educators agree that children should be schooled in the rights and responsibilities of citizens of a democracy. However, there are wide differences in what this means in terms of curriculum and instruction. While some would limit the school's responsibility for social development to a rather narrow form of citizenship training, others would approve of considerable attention in the elementary school to the attitudes and skills of cooperative group problem-solving and decision-making as well as of interpersonal, intergroup, and international relationships. Some would see the school helping young children with information, values, and practices relating to justice, ethics, morality, and the rule of law; others would leave such matters to be influenced by the home, the religious center, and the mass media.

People are divided also on the elementary school's responsibility in the area of personal development. Cultivation of positive feelings toward oneself, fostering of individual creativity, and education of all the senses for a fuller appreciation of the environment would appeal to some but not to others as a justifiable part of elementary education. Many would agree that the school must play an active role in areas like safety and health that involve the welfare of both the individual and those affected by his behavior. In the area of human sexuality, the division of opinion makes for some of the most bitter battles among parents and others taking an interest in the schooling of children.

While most schools do not provide for their children the broadest range of possibilities sketched here, all of the lines of development—intellectual, social, personal—are open as options that may be selected in deciding the scope and direction of the school's influence. Whether or not the school *should* and *can* successfully handle such a large order is another question to be considered in making decisions of purpose and direction. One thing seems certain: If the elementary school does not attempt to educate in such broad ways, it will never find out what might be achieved. Furthermore, experience has shown that concentration on educating only one aspect of the human being sets limits on what may be accomplished even in that one respect. The questions pertaining to the purposes of elementary schools should be answered by commission rather than omission.

Instructional Environments

Instructional environment, as here used, includes not only space and man-made and natural objects occupying that space, but the time dimension as well. Further, and most important, it includes the physical presence of people (the educators and those being educated, with their values, knowledge, and skills) who add that elusive quality of tone, mood, or character conveyed by the French word *ambiance*. Instruction itself is considered to be "the actual flow of engagements, by persons-being-educated, with other persons and things within particular arrangements of time and space."[2]

OPTION—REFORM THE SCHOOL OR REPLACE IT

Silberman has pointed out that the current debate about education of children still reflects the two broad alternatives represented by Rousseau in the eighteenth century and Comenius in the seventeenth: "To Rousseau . . . Nature made formal education unnecessary; the best education was . . . to permit the child to follow his own instincts and desires. Comenius, on the other hand, saw Nature as presenting the basis for education, but not education itself . . . Comenius has been succeeded by a long line of reformers—Pestalozzi, Herbart, Horace Mann, John Dewey—who railed against the evils of the schools and tried to reform them."[3]

The most drastic suggestion with respect to the environment within which instruction of children will take place is that there be no conventional elementary school at all. Ivan Illich is one who has described the unfortunate results of compelling children to spend a number of hours each day, day after day, in universal classroom attendance.[4] His chief objection has been that the worth of a person comes to be equated with the number of years of his schooling and that the school thus becomes the only means of access to the goods of the society.

Illich is not alone in his severe condemnation of the common school, although not all critics assume, as Illich seems to, that the society would be better off without such an institution. Writers like John Holt, George Dennison, Paul Goodman, and Jonathan

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[2] Arthur J. Lewis and Alice Miel, *Supervision for Improved Instruction—New Challenges, New Responses* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1972), p. 29.

[3] Silberman, op. cit., p. 121.

[4] Ivan Illich, "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America," *Saturday Review* 51 (1969): 57-59, 74-75. Illich continued his criticism of the common school in *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

Kozol[5] see the school as making children fail, miseducating them, even killing their spirit. They, however, advocate stringent reforms in the school or the creation of alternative schools, not the extinction of an institution responsible for organized education. Illich appears to romanticize institutions of society other than schools by looking upon them as automatically more reliable educators than those whose sole mission it is to educate children. Nor is this critic at all precise about how the education of millions of children is to be managed, given the preoccupation of adults, in modern societies at least, with their own concerns and specializations. However, the ease with which any institution like the school can become impersonal, routinized, and irrelevant makes it wise to heed the voices of all humanist critics. Challenge of the established system of schooling opens the way to consideration of dramatically different alternatives.

There would appear to be four options regarding schooling open to Americans in the near future: "(1) continue the common school as a compulsory institution but improve it vastly; (2) continue the common school but make attendance completely voluntary; (3) continue the common school as a considerably reduced operation which is to be an integral part of an array of alternate provisions for education, with or without attendance requirements for some part or parts of the array; and (4) completely replace the common school with new arrangements for education with or without some form of compulsory attendance."[6]

In other words, there is envisioned a range of reforms going all the way from leaving the present school virtually intact as an institution but with much revision in curriculum and instruction to changing its form and character radically while still maintaining an institution recognizable as a school. The fourth option, one a Rousseau or an Illich would probably select, may not be a viable alternative, for modern life is too complicated to make it practical for each individual to rediscover, with the aid only of his family and casual contacts in the community, the heritage of wisdom and technology developed over centuries. Therefore, it is almost certain that were the school to disappear, another institution, perhaps not unlike it, would be invented to take its place.

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[5] John Holt, *How Children Fail* (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1964); George Dennison, *The Lives of Children* (New York: Random House, 1969); Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Mis-education* (New York: Horizon Press, 1964); Jonathan Kozol, *Death at an Early Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967).

[6] Lewis and Miel, op. cit., p. 18.

Much of our educational writing contains suggestions for implementing the first option. To select the second might be a way of hastening some of the reforms long advocated but it does not in itself contain a positive program. The third option holds so many possibilities that it is given special consideration in the paragraphs that follow.

An "array of alternative provisions for education" might include as components home study via electronic devices and experiences with various specialists, agencies, and processes in the community. The school "as a considerably reduced operation" might consist of a coordinating center where qualified adults could help children plan their home study and lay out and execute their forays into the community. Later, the children, as individuals or in groups, could have the assistance of these adults in examining, organizing, evaluating, and putting to use information they had gathered.

The coordinating center could be well stocked with resources to enable children to pursue in greater depth some of the lines of investigation opened through their various encounters. Utilization of laboratories and other resources in the community as well as attendance at the coordinating center could be flexibly scheduled in order to accommodate differences in individuals and in the lifestyles of their families. Already there has been more than enough experience in giving children open access to specialized centers and different knowledgeable adults, albeit usually within the confines of the school. Such experience suggests that instructional environments so diverse and widely scattered may prove feasible if there is a strong mechanism for exploiting them for educational purposes. Careful planning by the responsible adults at the coordinating center with the persons in the field with whom the children are to be engaged would need to be assigned the highest priority.

OPTION—WHEN TO BEGIN SCHOOLING

If the decision is to provide something that resembles a school (whether it follows options one, two, or three), there are other

Kozol[5] see the school as making children fail, miseducating them, even killing their spirit. They, however, advocate stringent reforms in the school or the creation of alternative schools, not the extinction of an institution responsible for organized education. Illich appears to romanticize institutions of society other than schools by looking upon them as automatically more reliable educators than those whose sole mission it is to educate children. Nor is this critic at all precise about how the education of millions of children is to be managed, given the preoccupation of adults, in modern societies at least, with their own concerns and specializations. However, the ease with which any institution like the school can become impersonal, routinized, and irrelevant makes it wise to heed the voices of all humanist critics. Challenge of the established system of schooling opens the way to consideration of dramatically different alternatives.

There would appear to be four options regarding schooling open to Americans in the near future: "(1) continue the common school as a compulsory institution but improve it vastly; (2) continue the common school but make attendance completely voluntary; (3) continue the common school as a considerably reduced operation which is to be an integral part of an array of alternate provisions for education, with or without attendance requirements for some part or parts of the array; and (4) completely replace the common school with new arrangements for education with or without some form of compulsory attendance."[6]

In other words, there is envisioned a range of reforms going all the way from leaving the present school virtually intact as an institution but with much revision in curriculum and instruction to changing its form and character radically while still maintaining an institution recognizable as a school. The fourth option, one a Rousseau or an Illich would probably select, may not be a viable alternative, for modern life is too complicated to make it practical for each individual to rediscover, with the aid only of his family and casual contacts in the community, the heritage of wisdom and technology developed over centuries. Therefore, it is almost certain that were the school to disappear, another institution, perhaps not unlike it, would be invented to take its place.

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[5] John Holt, *How Children Fail* (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1964); George Dennison, *The Lives of Children* (New York: Random House, 1969); Paul Goodman, *Compulsory Mis-education* (New York: Horizon Press, 1964); Jonathan Kozol, *Death at an Early Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967).

[6] Lewis and Miel, op. cit., p. 18.

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OPTION—WHEN TO BEGIN SCHOOLING

If the decision is to provide something that resembles a school (whether it follows options one, two, or three), there are other questions to consider. One is the age at which schooling should begin.

Results of research related to modifiability of human potential have underlined the need for early education for all children, not alone for the educationally disadvantaged.[7] Certainly, the work of Erik Erikson in showing continuities-discontinuities in emotional development[8] and Jean Piaget's findings about the development of intellectual capacity[9] both point to the crucial importance of the early years of human development. Therefore, the education of three- and four-year-old children seems to be a justifiable concern of the elementary school educator. Whether a developmental program is provided for these children in a center separate from the elementary school or in an early childhood education sequence attached to a primary or elementary school probably is of little import if proper coordination is maintained among institutions serving children. At any rate, current interest in early childhood education raises important questions about the place and importance of young children in the total context of childhood schooling.

OPTIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

If the elementary school as such were to be replaced by a lower or primary school for children of three through eight years of age and a middle school for children of nine through fourteen, the move could prove disadvantageous if the chief result were to be the aping of secondary school practices that would lead to excessive compartmentalization of the education of younger children. If the change were to mean that children of an age to attend what was once the eight-grade elementary school would be even better served, there would be much to gain. For example, school units might be kept smaller, and programs and facilities might be designed especially for a more restricted age group.

An equally important step is to give children opportunities to relate to different kinds of people, for the peer group is a weighty factor in an instructional environment. The particular mix of ages and backgrounds of children brought together in one school unit can offer both problems of human relationships and opportunities for education in relating positively to others. The options available in populating a school in city or suburb range at the present time from the safe to the explosive. It is possible for the decision to be made in favor of creating a group with maximum potentialities for human relations education; in other words, with sufficient heterogeneity to represent the society fairly.

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[7] See, especially, Ira J. Gordon's useful pamphlet, *On Early Learning: The Modifiability of Human Potential* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1971).

[8] Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963).

[9] Jean Piaget, *The Origins of Intelligence in Children* (New York: International Universities Press, 1952).

ARCHITECTURAL OPTIONS

Developments in school architecture have created other options for the elementary school as a collecting point for children. Movable walls have allowed space to be used more flexibly. Acoustical ceilings and carpeted floors have made it possible to do away with interior walls altogether. However, it seems as unintelligent arbitrarily to rule out the use of any interior walls in the future school as it was unwise in years past to cut up all space into relatively small cubicles as a way of governing class size. Developments in school architecture should increase, not decrease, options. Decisions as to what options to select are unintelligent if made predominantly on the basis of what recently has been made possible in building the school plant rather than on the basis of the program to be facilitated.

The story is told of a group of children leaving an architecturally open school to enter a middle school of similar construction. At once, they waited on the principal with a request for walls. One explanation of this act could be that the children had traditional expectations of the next level of the school. On the other hand, it is possible that the children had missed something in their school without walls. Perhaps it was what some teachers have missed—an opportunity for a group of people to have a home base where they can create a living space of their own and with some privacy can develop satisfying ways of working together there. Open-space schools should provide opportunities for children to make their own commitments to space by being free to move and construct, using manipulable space dividers.

This leads to the speculation that the ideal elementary school might well have large open spaces and some smaller ones that could be enclosed or opened up according to need. It might have what some school architects are now urging—a certain amount of "committed" space. Part of this space could be used for well-equipped special purpose centers manned by competent specialists. Another section of the committed space could be a series of "family" rooms suitable for general education and manned by specially prepared generalists. The function of these generalists would be to help children move out freely from their family room for encounters elsewhere in the school and community, returning at planned intervals to their special place for gathering their ideas together in the company of a familiar family group.

OPTIONS FOR THE USE OF TIME

Both Philip Jackson and Joseph Grannis have called attention to the hidden curriculum—Jackson, to the lessons unwittingly taught by the facts of school life (crowding, scarcity, and ever present evaluation by an adult authority figure); Grannis, to the teachings inherent in the ways the school is organized (like a factory for standardized production or like a corporation to produce the corporation man).[10] Such analyses suggest additional considerations in designing instructional environments, lest children be locked into situations where most options are foreclosed.

One way in which children may be locked in is to conceive of time as something owned by the school and the adults in charge. Schools devoting much time to instruction which is individually *prescribed* often preempt children's time in a most high-handed way. Another option with respect to time is to conceive of it as something for a child to spend as he pleases without forethought. A third possibility is to view time in school as a precious resource to be planned, cooperatively and individually, to allow for a wide range of uses. There could be time for feelings to develop—feelings of encouragement and accomplishment, of acceptance and recognition, of enthusiasm and enjoyment, and of sadness. There could be time for relating—chatting and sharing ideas, enthusiasms, and experiences, offering and receiving help, laughing together, and showing sympathy. There could be time for managing—making decisions and taking responsibility, caring for routines and surroundings, and evaluating all operations. There could be time for extending—wondering and asking questions, reading, viewing, observing, experimenting, and discovering, pursuing interests and experiencing novelty. Lastly, there could be time for expressing—discussing, speculating, writing, moving the body, creating, celebrating, becoming skillful.

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[10] Philip W. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968); Joseph Grannis, "The School as a Model of Society," in *Technology and the Curriculum*, ed. Paul W. F. Witt (New York: Teachers College Press, 1963).

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

A final and extremely influential aspect of an instructional environment is the abundance and appropriateness of the materials and equipment it contains. Here the boundaries and options are set only by the extent of financial support and by the imagination and professional judgment of the providers. What range of difficulty should be represented? At what point does variety become distracting and invite dilettantism? What is a desirable balance between highly structured, "right-answer" material and material which allows for searching, selecting or rejecting, and synthesizing? What ranges can be provided to allow for different modes of experiencing—discursive and nondiscursive, sight and sound, manipulative and straight input? How the environment is conceived, planned, and created can make a critical difference in the quality of interaction and learning that will take place there.

Content of Curriculum and Instruction

With virtually an entire universe to select from, the elementary educator always has had abundant options in the area of content.[11] However, certain notions about what is suitable for the preteen child and even the definition assigned to the word *content* itself have tended to limit choices. When content is equated with subject matter—as frequently happens—selection of content is reduced to decisions with respect to subjects, topics, concepts, principles, facts, and the like. If content is defined as *all that might be contained* in a curriculum, the way is opened to select not only subject matter to be made accessible (idea content) but also processes and skills (skill content) and values, attitudes, and feelings (feeling content). Therefore, a crucial option is the choice of definition of the term *content* itself—how broad a scope its meaning shall encompass.

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[11] Curriculum is here used to specify "a set of intentions about opportunities for engagement of persons-to-be-educated with other persons and with things (all bearers of information, processes, techniques, and values) in certain arrangements of time and space." (Lewis and Miel, op. cit., p. 27.) This is in contrast to the "actual flow of engagements, by persons-being-educated" as the definition of instruction.

IDEA CONTENT

Within the realm of idea content there are many options regarding (a) scope of subject matter to be selected, (b) ways it may be ordered (organized and sequenced), and (c) cognitive level to be reached for.

Scope of the subject matter. The basic time orientation of curriculum and instruction can restrict or enlarge the options of scope. The area of social studies in the elementary school has been heavily influenced by the hoary view that since the past precedes the present and childhood precedes youth, it is logical for elementary school children to study only the past, leaving current problems and projections into the future for the later years. Such an assumption has caused many a child to use an inordinate amount of time tediously discovering America with Columbus, learning about the Indian and the Eskimo—often as they never were—and studying simplistic versions of colonial times and the westward movement at the expense of becoming informed and concerned about the human and natural resources, conditions, and needs of the great human family in contemporary times. A different option for the elementary school is to begin with the realities of the present, using the past for perspective, where useful, and encouraging consideration of possible futures to keep minds open and flexible and to show the need to update one's information continually throughout a lifetime.

A related option with respect to scope of idea content in social studies lies in the area of distance from the children—the near or the far in space. While some social studies planners still argue for a curriculum arranged in concentric circles moving out from home and school in grade one, to neighborhood, community, state, nation, and world in succeeding years, others are now strongly advocating moving back and forth from the beginning between a setting that can be experienced at firsthand and a wider world. They believe that today's child, exposed as he is to television, is quite ready for some vicarious excursions.

Other areas of curriculum and instruction are affected to a degree by decisions to narrow or to broaden the time and space dimensions of idea content. Choices in language and literature, science, and mathematics can, at one extreme, restrict children to that which touches them immediately or, at the other, to content so remote as to be virtually meaningless. Of course, the option to arrive at a combination lying between the two extremes is just as viable here as it is in many other matters of content.

Another option exists in relation to the disciplines to be tapped for subject matter which is to be made accessible to children. The curriculum reform movement of the sixties, as it touched the elementary school, was in part an exercise in discovering what aspects of the various natural and social sciences could be made teachable to young children. (In part, as has been observed, it was an exercise in rediscovering Whitehead and Dewey.)

A still different option has to do with the method of representation of information. Should the discursive mode, one that utilizes a logical, linear arrangement of information, be balanced with the nondiscursive mode used in poetry, art, music, film, and dance? If so, how much attention should be given to helping an individual child move from one mode to the other? A child may secure additional insight from seeing the same basic idea expressed in different forms. He also may discover that some ideas, impressions, and feelings can be conveyed in the "language" of one mode but not in another.

Organization of the idea content. There is considerable interdependence between the scope of subject matter included in curriculum and instruction and decisions regarding the way subject matter is to be organized. If all idea content is organized by separate subjects, the list of disciplines to be converted into teachable subjects for elementary school children must be limited. Furthermore, connections between subjects may be neglected entirely. Fusing some subjects found in older courses of study for the elementary school into broad fields (history, human geography, and civics into social studies; nature study and physical geography into elementary science; reading, penmanship, composition, spelling, and literature into language arts) has provided for some attention to connections between what were formerly separate school subjects and also has opened the way for including content from additional disciplines. Elementary science, for example, now tends to include aspects of physics, chemistry, biology, ecology, and other natural and physical sciences; social studies has the possibility of drawing information from anthropology, sociology, economics, and social psychology; elementary school language arts has been affected particularly by developments in the field of linguistics and by a growing interest in works of literary merit for children. The metamorphosis of arithmetic into modern elementary school mathematics is an example of converting a single subject into a broad field by incorporating additional branches of a discipline.

The organization of idea content into school subjects for which textbooks were available represented a giant step toward external integration of subject matter. The development of broad fields meant a further step in this direction, though frequently it actually resulted in a new collection of school subjects with a new set of textbooks. It was not until the unit of work was conceived as a way of organizing experiences of children in the elementary school that the boundary lines of the subjects and broad fields were broken through dramatically. By making a broad topic or problem the organizing center, subject matter could now be drawn from various disciplines to make a new and ever changing integration of content. This organization virtually demanded use of multiple sources of information.

Cognitive level. A third area of optionality with respect to idea content is the level of cognition sought. The possibilities range up the cognitive ladder from memorization of facts to the highest form of manipulation and creation of knowledge with several stopping points in between. Taba's research has shown that laying a base of information to be manipulated is essential but that children's operations with information can be kept at a low level or moved toward higher thought processes.[12]

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[12] Hilda Taba, *Thinking in Elementary School Children*, Cooperative Research Project No. 1574 (San Francisco, Calif.: San Francisco State College, 1964).

SKILL CONTENT

Options with respect to skill content are closely tied to decisions about idea content. If there is a strong desire to help a child become a person capable of examining his present world and of helping to shape the future, there will be little inclination to stop with the bare bones of simple literacy. Rather, the choice will be to aid each one in developing skills for processing and using information in individual and group decision-making as well as in full enjoyment of living. Such skills can be developed only through operations at all levels of the cognitive ladder.

Both intuitive and analytical approaches to information can be fostered, the former to encourage children to come at situations in a global way and from various angles (a process leading to flashes of insight), the latter to encourage systematic building and checking of ideas. Skills of categorizing, combining and recombining, testing and evaluating information can be taught. Skill in "reading" the messages conveyed through various symbol systems (mathematical, scientific, aesthetic, alphabetical) and skill in expressing ideas in various forms also may be selected as important to include in curriculum and instruction in the elementary school.

Equally to be stressed are the skills of working cooperatively to find and apply solutions to problems shared with others. These skills sometimes have been called problem-solving and social-action skills.

FEELING CONTENT

Options with respect to feeling content are the most elusive of those considered here. They also are the most debatable. Traditionally, the school has assumed a moral and ethical position of sorts by taking its direction from the community and making certain pronouncements as to what is deemed right and wrong. Even though the day of teaching the catechism in secular schools is long gone, schools have continued to teach the right and wrong in such diverse matters as personal conduct and conventions used in writing. Instilling feelings of loyalty to family and nation has been common. In recent years there has been a growing awareness that how a child feels about himself and others, the values he professes and lives by, and his system of beliefs have an intimate relationship with what he truly knows and what he does with his knowledge. Options regarding feeling content include (a) ignoring this whole area; (b) using direct, indirect, or a combination of approaches to value development; (c) helping children use information and experience in building a positive self-image; and (d) helping them understand the mechanisms underlying the development of attitudes toward themselves and others and toward the material aspects of the environment. A combination of the second, third, and fourth options is, to be sure, quite possible.

Teaching Modes

Teaching is here defined as a "process whereby one person mediates between another person and the stuff of his world."[13] This makes teaching a human function performed for and with another human being.

Kornberg saw teaching as dialogue in which responsibility is assumed for helping another person with his meanings.[14] He proposed a new version of meaning, formed out of the convergence of two streams of thought, one a theory of knowledge based on instrumentality and the functions of the social field, the other a view of knowledge as a biography of experience, of developed individual ways of perceiving and acting. The result, wrote Kornberg, was "a view of knowledge not as organized in closed logics, but as flowing and interdependent with the motives of men." This has led to understanding meaning "not as thought or affect, but as their unity."

Kornberg went on to state, "If we say that meaning is a process wherein a man's current need and purposes are organized by a history of being maligned or satisfied by persons . . . then the interpersonal contact in which that meaning becomes enhanced is crucially important." If an interpersonal history is always operative in the meanings of persons, then it follows that feelings toward

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13. Lewis and Miel, op. cit., p. 30.

14. Leonard Kornberg, "Teaching as Dialogue—Case Study of Teaching at Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School" (doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University), p. 177, published as *A Class for Disturbed Children: A Case Study of Teaching and Its Meaning for Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1955), p. 157.

persons will pervade a child's responses toward all new situations, making the relationship with a person teaching especially critical.

To define teaching as mediation between a person and his world or as an attempt to help another person with his meanings is not to specify what "good" teaching is. The possibilities range all the way from mediation limited in scope, quality, and impact, if not actually malignant, to mediation that can enhance the life of the person touched by it. There is a time-tested, worldwide teaching mode consistent with rote learning of factual content from limited sources. There is another array of teaching behaviors appropriate when the intent is to enable a child to develop as an independent-interdependent human being whose thinking-feeling-acting are well harmonized. At the one extreme is the nineteenth-century mode that is still much used, which emphasized telling, followed by testing for recall. At the other is a complicated, emerging way of relating to another human being who is struggling to comprehend and master himself and his world.

The behaviors making up the latter mode include telling and some forms of testing but they also include explaining, promoting discovery of information (through leading to sources, confirming, denying, inviting comparison, pointing out patterns, and the like), developing skills (through capitalizing upon or creating a sense of need, showing how, and providing opportunities for relevant practice), and helping a child to examine his motivations, feelings, and values and to consider alternatives intellectually as well as through observation of models.

It is worth noting that the teaching mode most promising from the standpoint of the development of fully functioning persons includes all the humane behaviors associated with ordinary teaching since time immemorial plus a wider array than even those exhibited by the most renowned teachers, like Socrates, Christ, and Gandhi. The modern teacher has the benefit of an increasing fund of knowledge about how the human being grows, develops, learns, and becomes the person he has the potential to be. It is true that this knowledge is incomplete and also that only the rare teacher has as yet developed a teaching style drawing on any considerable part of it. However, those especially gifted teachers, often unrecognized and sometimes unrewarded, have shown others what can be done if the focus of teaching is on the young person in the process of becoming what he has the power to become rather than on the teacher merely directing learning. Such teaching depends on sensitive responses to data in a situation. It requires knowledge of the biography of a child, skill in reading the clues furnished by a child in the midst of the instructional process, awareness of reactions of a child as his teacher attempts to mediate between him and some of the stuff of his world, and a repertoire of possible behaviors that would constitute a helpful response to a particular child.

Such teaching also depends upon exploiting the educative possibilities of the dynamics found in a group matrix in schooling. Certain awarenesses and skills can be cultivated only in groups. For this reason, a comprehensive teaching style will encompass behaviors of group building, leadership, and teaching that help children become sensitive and skillful members and leaders of groups and help a group support and nourish each of its members.

The discussion in this section has centered on teaching, not defined as everything a teacher does but as a special function that may be performed in conjunction with other aspects of the work of the teacher. A teacher must see to it that the instructional environment is well equipped and arranged but, as far as that teacher is concerned, no teaching has taken place until there has been some interaction between him and one or more children. A teacher may also be fulfilling a useful function in supervising children as they work on self-instructional materials. Again, according to the definitions stipulated, without interaction with a child the teacher has not been teaching even though instruction has been proceeding.

Some teachers may keep themselves busy with administrative and supervisory aspects of their work with children, making teaching a minor activity indeed. Others seem to put high-quality teaching in the forefront. They seek to develop ever more sensitive radar so that their responses to children permeate the way they handle all other tasks that fall to them as teachers. While a teacher can help a whole group at a time with their meanings and also can make useful responses to a single child in a group situation, most often in the elementary school the teacher who really is teaching may be seen quietly moving about and unobtrusively entering into an engagement with a child who seems to have exhausted his own resources and is showing a need for some kind of assistance from an adult. This does not make an impressive classroom demonstration for the uninitiated observer, but it is an option in carrying on the work of a teacher that can make a real difference in a child's life.

Decision-making

Plans for the nature and location of the elementary school plant are among the early decisions that matter in elementary education, though often, unfortunately, such decisions are made routinely and thoughtlessly and may or may not be based on prior decisions about the program to be facilitated. The degree of flexibility of the plant will in turn influence some of the later program decisions, for some buildings allow a response to rather drastic changes in the conception of a school; others tend to freeze present arrangements in place. Once the plant is available, many other decisions must be made before the school can begin to operate—calendar and school hours, composition of the student body and classification and grouping of the children who attend, composition and competence of the teaching force, special services to be located within and outside the building, administrative and supervisory leadership, and, influencing all, the operating budget.

The writer of this chapter has chosen to concentrate mainly on matters of curriculum and instruction; therefore, decision-making as discussed in this section maintains that focus. The options presented in preceding sections were intended to illustrate the range of choices possible in each selected aspect of school program. In this section, the emphasis is placed on possible decisions affecting the entire program—where such decisions may be made, by whom and with what possible effect.

METHODS OF PLANNING

By the 1950s a linear way of planning curriculum and instruction had been so persuasively argued and had become so well established as to appeal to common sense as the only way to make such decisions. In the linear approach, the first step is to set up something labeled as goals, aims, or objectives. The next step is to select subject matter and related activities for achieving the objectives. Finally, the procedure is to determine, through gathering some kind of evidence, the extent to which the objectives have been reached. This stream of development has been refined to such a degree that presently, as one school of thought would have it, each objective should be stated in terms of a single behavior to be achieved, one that can be observed and, if possible, measured. The objectives often are determined by the type of evaluation program desired rather than the other way around.

Linear planning is being challenged in two different ways at present. Some accept it as fruitful and basically approve of more careful statements of objectives but insist that some of the most important objectives of elementary education defy precise statement in behavioral terms and also defy measurement. The other challenge comes from those who see fixation on linear planning as a block to meeting children on their own ground and helping them with their meanings, as described above. The supporters of this view urge the present moment with children as a beginning point, with movement from there on determined by the biographies of the children, convictions about their right to find their own destinies, visions and hopes about what human beings may become, knowledge of cultural goods (information, skills, and values) which may be of use to the children, and awareness of ways of making these goods accessible to children as in their growing they search for new meanings. For present purposes, this approach may be called planning-in-the-round as opposed to the linear type, although, as will be seen, linear planning easily finds a place within it.

Most school systems provide for some centralized decision-making about curriculum and instruction. This may consist of adopting a textbook or some externally prepared program. Even if the curriculum is developed locally, a linear type of planning is most likely to be employed at a distance from children. Such planning can result in detailed prescription of subject matter and its handling, with varying degrees of attention to skill and feeling content. In other cases, the result may be detailed suggestions to teachers which they are invited to believe are not fixed requirements. A third possibility is the presentation of broad options from which teachers and children may select as their experience and judgment dictate. This third alternative is most likely to give the teacher and the children the optimum freedom and support to plan their own operations.

At the individual school level, decisions are made by a principal, by a teacher group, or increasingly now by a community group. Even these decisions, however, often begin with a curriculum coming from more remote sources. These building-level decisions either may further restrict the individual teacher and his class or open more opportunities to make their own basic decisions about the instructional environment and the content they will use.

At best, the given curriculum is a resource for teachers and children. Whether a teacher is handed a closed or an open curriculum, further curricular planning is called for at the classroom level to adjust it to the children. If a teacher so desires, the children as individuals and in groups can be involved in such planning. Thus, curricular planning can become part of the instructional process. This planning may consist of elaboration upon prepared curricular plans or it may depart greatly from them.

THE TEACHER'S ROLE

While there are financial and cultural constraints upon instructional environments, a teacher can be very influential in this area. He may allow the environment to be created thoughtlessly, following the lead of custom, or he may make the opportunities available to the children to collaborate in continuously planning and replanning the environment as suggested by events outside and within the environment and by the changing needs and insights of the human beings inhabiting it.

Decisions about teaching can be made only by the teacher himself. He alone can adopt the mode or modes he will employ. Only he can collect and act on information about each child as that child reveals it in interacting with his physical and human environment. Only he can judge the appropriate proportion and timing of individual and group instruction and decide how he will make himself accessible and helpful under all circumstances.

In making decisions about curriculum and instruction, educators do not have to settle upon one approach, be it child-centered, subject-centered, society-centered, discipline-centered, or problem-centered. It is possible to incorporate some of each feature at the elementary school level. To do so successfully, however, means beginning with the children as they are now, with their histories as given, and not being held to destinations someone else thinks the children should or should not reach. With knowledge of the children and of what they might find helpful in their culture, it is possible to introduce them to different ways of viewing and using their culture.

The younger the children, the more desirable it is that they have a preponderance of basic experiences with interrelated ideas, feelings, and skills inherent in life situations real to them. Added value comes when such situations are problematic. Developing new meanings in real-life situations calls for information from several of the fields of knowledge pursued by man. It is valuable to discover what knowledge is pertinent and how best to organize it.

New meanings can be developed also through systematic study of one field, like mathematics. Meanings are extended further if the children also are helped to see this field in use in human situations. For older children, another possible type of arrangement is to look at the world through the spectacles of a geographer, a philosopher, a poet, and so on. Again, the children's content for a time may be the dynamics of a group as it studies directly the reasons for failure or success on different occasions. With all the advances that have been made in autoinstructional materials, it is quite feasible and desirable to build into the instructional process carefully worked out learning sequences leading to the development of some skill or particular understanding, provided that the child following the sequence sees its usefulness and also its place in the larger stream of his experience.

The ultimate test of decision-making about curriculum and instruction in the elementary school is whether at the end of the line, where the children are, the teacher has the freedom, the material support, and the expert help to plan "in-the-round" and to design a varied program with the children.

Conclusion

The elementary school can operate as though it has restricted options, thus disregarding the riches in teaching ideas, content, and resources that have become available through the efforts of countless pioneers in education and refined through the patient trials and retrials of thousands of insightful teachers. On the other hand, those responsible for the elementary school can fashion from these same ingredients an educational institution new in its form, new in its use of the community, and new in its offerings to children. These responsible adults can open to the children all of the viable and useful options discussed in this chapter. They can change the elementary school from a regimenting institution to one that has something valuable to offer each of the many different types of children it serves.

The importance of school finance, plant, administration, and organization are not to be denied in achieving this result. No single one of these, however, can create curriculum and instruction of high quality. If these two interrelated aspects of an educational program are to be improved, they must be worked on directly, with intelligence and caring. It is for that reason that they have been stressed in this discussion. It is left to succeeding chapters of this yearbook to present a more detailed discussion of some of the promising directions in which the elementary school may grow as it chooses among the alternative futures that lie before it.

site a realization of educational institutions as well as local parents as the whole community and a wider service to children. There are another [illegible] can apply to the development of the many and useful options discussed in this chapter. They can change the elementary school from a [illegible] [illegible] into one that has something valuable to offer each of the many different types of children it serves.

The independence of school finance, of administration, and organization are not in themselves sufficient in achieving this result. No single one of these processes can create enthusiasm and [illegible] of high teacher. If these two [illegible] aspects of an [illegible] and program are [illegible] with [illegible] they must be worked out directly with [illegible] and [illegible] it is for that reason that they have been [illegible] in this discussion, left to succeeding chapters of the section to present a more detailed discussion of some of the promising directions in which the elementary school may grow as it chooses among the alternative changes that lie before it.

SECTION II

FORCES AND IDEAS SHAPING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

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CHAPTER V

The Philosophical Context

PHILIP G. SMITH

In this century much of the search for better education from the elementary years through postgraduate study has been closely linked to the quest for a guiding philosophy. The effort to improve both has centered on the attempt to reconstruct ideas that not only appeared in practice to be conflicting but in theory to be irreconcilable. In philosophy, pragmatism was such a reconstructive attempt.

Early in this century, William James, in his popular lectures on pragmatism, described this new philosophy in terms of its efforts to avoid both extremes of what he called "the tough-minded and the tender-minded." He noted that "the tough think of the tender as sentimentalists and soft-heads. The tender feel the tough to be unrefined, callous or brutal." [1]

James, in using expressions such as *sentimentalist* and *callous*, was referring, of course, more to attitudes or dispositions than to philosophic theories. He believed that "the history of philosophy is to a great extent that of a certain clash of human temperaments." [2] Nevertheless, such dispositions or temperaments were, according to James, intimately connected with differing philosophic views concerning the nature of man and of human knowledge and value. Indeed, from his pragmatic viewpoint, if different philosophic theories made no significant difference in the approach man took to daily concrete situations, then the question must arise as to just how meaningful the philosophic distinctions were.

Since education (or, more properly, schooling) is a highly con-

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1. William James, *Pragmatism* (New York: Longman's Green & Co., 1907), p. 13.

2. Ibid., p. 6.

crete undertaking, the issue of differing temperaments is relevant in a much more obvious way than it is in the case of differing philosophic underpinnings. In the Progressive education movement, for example, many of the disagreements appear to have been more nearly clashes of temperament than reasoned arguments about the philosophic differences of, say, Dewey and Rousseau. More recently, the mechanistic educational reactions to Sputnik and the countering human reaction "don't fold or mutilate me" seem again to be clashes of temperament rather than conscious acceptance or rejection of opposing philosophic premises.

Assuming that James was at least partially correct in believing that there is an intimate connection between philosophy and temperament, it should be a useful exercise once again to display for consideration those key philosophic ideas that seem to be connected with a tough-minded approach to the education of children and those that seem to be connected with a tender-minded approach. The hope is that such a display will be of some help as we seek to gain a philosophic perspective on current debates, proposals, and trends in education from early childhood through the middle school years.

One of the difficulties in attaining such perspective is the problem (perennial in philosophy of education) of clarifying the relationship between philosophic theory (e.g., theory of knowledge) and educational policy.[3] Intuitively, most of us would acknowledge that theories about What can be known? How is knowledge attained? How does one know that he knows? ought to be relevant (and in some cases decisive) in reaching decisions concerning matters such as scope and sequence of the curriculum, instructional objectives, and methods of teaching and learning. The same may be said concerning the relationship to educational practice of various theories about the nature of man and society and the nature of human value. Indeed, this intuition is so strong that it generally remains even with persons who, after intensive study of the problem, are still unable to specify the precise nature of the relationships involved.

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[3] See, e.g., William K. Frankena, "A Model for Analyzing a Philosophy of Education," in *Readings in the Philosophy of Education: A Study of Curriculum*, ed. Jane R. Martin (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1970), pp. 15-22.

In this chapter we shall rest with the intuitive case for relevance and shall not review any of the attempts to explicate the connections between a philosophic position and an educational policy decision. I shall warn only that since much else enters into policy decisions (e.g., psychological and sociological views of teaching and learning, various community pressures and priorities, differing perceptions of what is feasible in a given context), it is very difficult to establish a one-to-one relationship between, say, an epistemological position and a curriculum or teaching strategy. In other words, two persons holding the same view of the nature of knowledge may disagree concerning elementary school practice, while persons disagreeing in philosophic theory may nevertheless hold similar views concerning what ought to be done when educating our children. But just because, in a given situation, the force of a philosophic view may be modified or outweighed by some overriding consideration, we should not conclude that it is irrelevant. And if James was right, the general temperament that is compatible with the philosophy may well remain intact and exert a powerful influence on the way a policy decision is interpreted and carried out.

Tough-minded Philosophies

Various forms of materialism, empiricism, and positivism generally appeal to those tough-minded educators who, having great respect for "the facts," want no nonsense in our schools. This is not to say that they do not love children or that they advocate only traditional, stern discipline and old-fashioned methods of drill and rote learning. What is at issue, rather, is not only the facts as the proper content of instruction but recognition of *the facts* of human nature and behavior. The way to express a love for children, the tough-minded would say, is not through a sentimental and romantic permissiveness but by a truly professional practice based upon a scientific schedule of positive reinforcement. From a psychological standpoint there may be great advantages to classroom activities *that interest children.* But from a professional and moral point of view, the overriding consideration ought to be what is *in the interest of children.*

The brand of empiricism that appears to be most common among tough-minded educators is called by philosophers "commonsense empiricism." The central idea is that "the world is made of a number of things." Scientists and other investigators are gradually discovering what these things are and the properties of each. It is the business of teachers to teach these facts to students. The proper methods of teaching and learning are the same as the methods of inquiry, i.e., induction and discovery. The general structure of human knowledge is the same as the structure of our dominant languages, i.e., subject-predicate. This is why knowledge claims can be cast in the form of propositions. The truth of a proposition is a matter of correspondence with reality; in other words, that which is named by the subject actually exists and it really has the properties named by the predicate. The truth of any proposition is subject to test by the empirical methods best exemplified in the physical sciences.

Such a view of human knowledge is subject to endless refinements and sophistication and in the bald form in which it has been presented here it would not likely be accepted by any philosopher. Nevertheless, while the disagreements that arise concerning the proper refinements are of great significance philosophically, it is the hard core of tough-mindedness that persists in spite of these disagreements that is the significant factor from an educational standpoint. Such a tough-minded empiricism and a correspondence theory of truth is, I think, detectable in the educational viewpoints of Comenius, Pestalozzi, Locke, Herbart, and, in more recent times, in those of Bagley and the Essentialists.

The educational recommendations of Frederick S. Breed also are a good example of this manner of thinking. After testifying to his belief "that knowledge of the world is fundamentally the disclosure of the preexistent,"[4] he goes on to say:

> . . . the study of every problem, including the most scientific investigation, proceeds on the same principle. Man proposes, but nature disposes. The child projects, but the teacher directs. This is the essence of the definition that teaching is the *guidance* of learning. The test of truth is the conformity with something not of one's own creation, and

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[4] Frederick S. Breed, "Education and the Realistic Outlook," in *Philosophies of Education,* Forty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1942), p. 108.

the content objectives of a good curriculum are but selections of values thus attested.[5]

His chief objection to his opponents—educational liberals—was their alleged "inadequate sense of fact" and their "sentimental retreat from reality and the values inherent in our common culture." [6]

Such a theory of knowledge is frequently coupled with a materialistic cultural determinism, and this tends to add an additional layer of toughness to the way in which we relate to children. Leslie White, for example, has pointed out that each of us is born into a preexisting culture and that "the thousands of things that comprise our civilization . . . have weight, mass, momentum. They cannot be made to disappear by waving a wand, nor can their structure and behavior be altered by an act of will. We must come to terms with them as we find them today. And they will be tomorrow what their trend of development in the past dictates. We only trot along with them hoping to keep up. . . ." [7]

It follows that "it is not the people who control their culture through education; it is rather the other way around: Education is what culture is doing to people, namely, equipping them with ideas, beliefs, ideals, codes of conduct, tools, utensils, machines, etc. —in short, determining how they shall think, feel and behave." [8]

Another common companion of such ideas is positivism. In any of its many forms positivism is astringent—that is, it tends to exclude much that traditionally has been an important part of philosophy, for example, metaphysical speculation. In its more extreme forms [9] positivism removes all value assertions from the cognitive domain. If value assertions are neither true nor false, being merely expressions of emotion or exhortation, they can be studied only in the manner of the behavioral and social sciences. An anthropologist, as a scientist, can note *the fact* that in a certain society persons generally express "a preference" for this or that. He can note that these persons consider some "preferences" so important that they call them "moral" and are even willing, on occasion, to fight and die for them. But as a positive scientist there is no way for him to investigate the question as to whether one preference is really better than another. "Better" thus becomes no more than another term used to express a personal or cultural preference.

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[5] Ibid., p. 126.

[6] Ibid., p. 127.

[7] Leslie A. White, "Man's Control Over Civilization," *Scientific Monthly* 66 (1948): 235.

[8] Ibid., p. 240. This point of view is elaborated in Leslie A. White, *The Science of Culture* (New York: Grove Press, 1949), chap. 12.

[9] A less extreme and more sophisticated form of positivism (in relation to education) is presented by Herbert Feigl in "Aims of Education for Our Age of Science: Reflections of a Logical Empiricist" in *Modern Philosophies and Education*, Fifty-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

If one follows this line of reasoning, presumably our elementary schools should exclude from the curriculum all questions of value, except for descriptive study.

> Educational reformers should begin to distinguish between what formal schooling can and cannot do. They must separate the teaching of skills from the teaching of attitudes, and concentrate on the former.[10]
>
> There is a lot of talk about the foisting of middle-class values onto working-class children through the schools. . . . The way out of this problem, it seems to me, is once again to take the schools out of the business of shaping attitudes. Have them attend to skills, especially, in the beginning, reading, and the question of whose values control the schools becomes largely irrelevant . . . people have a right to hold whatever beliefs and whatever attitudes they please; that is the only consistent position for a civil libertarian . . . my point is that educational theory should define strictly educational tasks and that schools should concentrate on those. Any such definition must include, at one end of the spectrum, fundamental skills; at the other, it must exclude the conscious attempt to formulate social attitudes.[11]

It is comparatively easy for secondary school teachers of, say, mathematics and physical sciences, to keep their instruction free from social and moral value questions. As many writers have noted, however, this does not mean that they are remaining neutral with respect to *all* values. By their own example, they teach their preference for such important process values as objectivity, logical reasoning, and the like. And, of course, they display their own preference for social and moral neutrality. The elementary school teacher, however, cannot so easily escape into the neutral posture of positivistic science. In the elementary school even tough-minded teachers soon realize that, like it or not, they are teaching *the whole child.*

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[10] Michael B. Katz, "The Present Moment in Educational Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 41 (1971): 355.

[11] Ibid., p. 356.

How tough can an educator really be? It seems unlikely that many of our teachers would be willing to adopt the extreme position advocated some forty-five years ago by Ross Finney (quoted as representing only a tough-minded approach, not a particular philosophical one):

> Ours are the schools of a democracy, which *all* the children attend. At least half of them never had an original idea of any general nature, and never will. But they must behave as if they had *sound* ideas. Whether those ideas are original or not matters not in the least. It is better to be right than to be original. What the duller half of the population needs, therefore, is to have their reflexes conditioned into behavior that is socially suitable. And the wholesale memorizing of catchwords—provided they are sound ones—is the only practical means of establishing bonds in the duller intellects between the findings of social scientists and the corresponding social behavior of the masses. Instead of trying to teach dullards to think for themselves, the intellectual leaders must think for them, and drill the results, memoriter, into their synapses. For the dullards it is that or nothing.[12]

Yet it does seem to be the case that a tough-minded positivist must either try to remain strictly neutral with respect to all questions of value or else advocate a program of *affective conditioning* in order to insure inculcation of some culturally preferred set of socially acceptable attitudes.

Tender-minded Philosophies

Various forms of idealism, rationalism, and existentialism generally appeal to educators who, having great respect for the personality of individual children, desire to create a classroom climate of love and gentle guidance in which each child can develop his unique strengths. This need not mean a foolish or sentimental permissiveness. What is at issue is the importance of human values and the *qualitative* aspects of experience in contrast to an overemphasis upon impersonal facts and objective measurements.

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[12] Ross L. Finney, *A Sociological Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928), pp. 209–10.

It is very easy to overestimate the importance of so-called facts. Without one or more principles, facts stand isolated and meaningless. Except in relation to some human value or concern, facts have no significance. Since the time of Plato it has been clear that the proper object of learning is not things but the meaning of things. As Horne once put it, "We are not meaning to deny that there are material, physical, and practical aspects of man's existence on the earth. We mean only to affirm that all these things find their true fulfillment in the ideal ends of living." [13]

The central fact of all conscious experience is the fact of *self*. Whether one arrives at this conclusion by Descartes's "*Cogito, ergo sum*" or by the commonsense acknowledgement of the undeniability of one's own subjective life, it follows that human knowledge is never a matter of direct, uninterpreted reception of sensory data. Even if one believes that the mind at birth is a *tabula rasa*, one must still acknowledge, as John Locke did, that the mind exists. What the mind can know is ideas—simple or complex. There is no way to check directly the correspondence of an idea with an external world, for there is no way to know the external world except through ideas of it. The test for truth, therefore, is not correspondence but coherence among ideas.

Once the mind of the child we seek to educate is equipped with the simple ideas supplied by sensory impressions, it then forms complex ideas or concepts which it brings to all subsequent experience. It is thus that the raw data of experience become meaningful. An education designed to enable students to attain truth must be concerned with coherence among principles and generalizations rather than with the piling up of information. The outstanding characteristic of a science is not that it is factual but that it is theoretical, and the revolutionary advances are made not by those who discover new facts but by those who discover new ways of conceiving the facts.

> . . . Truth is orderly and systematic, a web of closely intertwined relationships. . . .
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> If this principle is true, then full awareness of relationships is es-

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[13] Herman H. Horne, "An Idealistic Philosophy of Education," in *Philosophies of Education*, Forty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1942), p. 156.

sential in getting at truth. It will get us nowhere to pare away the qualities of an object one by one, assuming that eventually we will get at the thing itself. Nor will it benefit us to try to deal with some object, problem or part of experience in isolation from the rest of existence. Every object, every problem, every part of experience, is what it is just because of its relation to the whole. True knowledge of them can only be achieved, therefore, by seeing them in their relations to the whole. Because of this, synopsis is a long suit of idealism since it provides a way of perceiving an approximately total perspective while viewing some part in greater detail.[14]

Only when the self and the mind are made central in the educational process can self-realization become a meaningful objective. For years there has been much talk about individualization of instruction in our elementary schools. But if this means moving individual pupils through a series of preplanned modules, what is gained by such an assembly-line procedure? The fact that each can move at his own pace insures only that all arrive at the same place. This manner of "paying attention to individual differences" is only a means to the ironing out of those differences. And, in addition, it robs the individual of valuable social interactions.

Nor should education at any level ever be subordinated to the nationalistic and commercial interests of our society. As Ulich has remarked:

> These factors are so powerful that one may well wonder whether thought and education can still be of assistance in the striving for a good and rational life. Everybody has to go to school. This is true. But at the same time it is for many nothing but a convention. All that results from such an enforced schooling is information, often unwillingly acquired, ungratefully remembered, and quickly forgotten. . . . Except in rare instances, education has been the handmaid of power rather than the conscience of humanity.[15]

Running through idealist and rationalist philosophies are two main variations on the theme of the centrality of mind and self. One version which culminated in the absolute idealism of Hegel emphasized the rationality of our universe. Under this approach there was a tendency to "train the mind," to bring it into harmony with the Absolute Mind of the Universe. Individuality often seemed to get lost in the grand sweep of things.

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[14] J. Donald Butler, *Idealism in Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 65.

[15] Robert Ulich, *The Human Career* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1955), pp. 228–29.

The second version, which has tended to merge with modern existentialism, has been much more individualistic and subjectivistic in emphasis. This approach has sometimes been called *subjective existentialism* or *personalism.* Its educational recommendations are generally compatible with that part of the counseling and guidance movement that is based on the psychology of Rogers and Maslow.

The emphasis here is upon authenticity and self-actualization. Oddly enough, in relation to questions of value, extreme forms of existentialism are likely to fall into the same personal or cultural relativism as the positivists. This is because of the heavy dose of subjectivism. One saving grace of the existentialist (in contrast to the positivist) is that in emphasizing the "I-Thou" relationship he should never take advantage of another human being—never use another person as a means. As a teacher the existentialist should not, therefore, ever agree to any form of the imposition of attitudes or values. Every person should be free to be true to himself. Since all persons are in the same human predicament, sharing the same anxiety, then, to paraphrase Shakespeare, if each will to his own self be true, no man can then be false to any man.

One of the difficulties with an emphasis upon self is that it is so easy to confuse self-actualization with self-centeredness or even selfishness. It is one thing for a counselor to encourage a client to size up everything from his own point of view, but I think that not many elementary teachers would like all of their pupils to believe that:

> . . . You must take the position that you are the most important being in the world. There is no other possible platform from which to view life. You are the center of everything, the focal headquarters for all that you experience. And you always place a higher valuation on your continuing existence than on any other being in the world. Heroic suicides to the contrary notwithstanding, every individual's conscious selfhood exerts a continuing existential judgment in its own favor. That is to say, we assign to our own selves—without any help from Christian doctrine or democratic preachments about the worth of the individual —we assign to our own selves, I say, an *absolute* value and an ultimate worth.[16]

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[16] Van Cleve Morris, "Existentialism and the Education of the Twentieth Century Man," *Educational Theory* 11 (January 1961): 53.

Neotough and Neotender Isms

A more contemporary name for contemporary versions of tough-minded and tender-minded temperaments in educational theory and practice might be the "scientific-technological" and the "new humanism," respectively. On the one hand we have (a) programmed instruction, (b) teaching machines, (c) behavioral objectives, (d) performance-referenced programs and certification, (e) "Beyond Freedom and Dignity."

In temperamental opposition we have the U.S. image of (a) British infant schools, (b) open classrooms, (c) affective education, (d) alternative schools, (e) "Greening" and "Deschooling." And there are, of course, countless variations and combinations of the two themes.

Perhaps the clearest account of the scientific-technological approach to education is found in Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*.[17] As the title suggests, the problem is not that human freedom and dignity are bad, but rather that their nature has been so badly misunderstood that such words have become slogans for conditions and programs that actually deny man's real potential. Society, and especially education, should move beyond such slogans.

Once we realize that "all behavior is shaped and maintained by its consequences" [18] and that "a self is a repertoire of behavior appropriate to a given set of contingencies," [19] we recognize that "the problem is to free man, not from control, but from certain kinds of control, and it can be solved only if our analysis takes all consequences into account." [20] And while "man is much more than a dog . . . like dog he is within range of a scientific analysis." [21] In short:

> . . . it should be possible to design a world in which behavior likely to be punishable seldom or never occurs. We try to design such a world for those who cannot solve the problem of punishment for themselves, such as babies, retardates, or psychotics, and if it could be done for

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[17] B. F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

[18] Ibid., p. 18.

[19] Ibid., p. 199.

[20] Ibid., p. 44.

[21] Ibid., p. 201.

> everyone, much time and energy would be saved . . . to prepare people for a world in which they cannot be good automatically we need appropriate instruction, but that does not mean a permanently punitive environment, and there is no reason why progress toward a world in which people may be automatically good should be impeded.[22]

But, of course, to persons of the opposite temperament, the very idea of children being *automatically* good is a kind of contradiction in terms. Aiken, for example, has said:

> . . . man is also the self-perfecting, self-overcoming, and self-transcending being . . . The very notion of morality is impossible apart from the ideal of the individual as an autonomous agent, who assumes responsibility for his own conduct, his own principles, his own comportment. In fact, apart from such a view of man, free personal relations among men, including above all the relations of contract and personal loyalty and love, can scarcely exist.[23]

In the face of such stark opposition of two views (each of which seems useful when considered separately), it is likely to occur to many persons that what we need is some principle of complimentarity, perhaps not unlike that suggested by Neils Bohr in connection with physical theories of light transmission. And, in fact, much of the literature in elementary education seems to be an attempt to utilize both approaches for understanding teaching and learning and for the construction of curriculum and pedagogical method. Some of this literature represents not merely a compromise or careless eclecticism, but a distinctive third approach, based on the belief that any approach is never more than a conceptual instrument with a limited range of usefulness.

We presently have, then, three fairly distinct approaches to education: the tough-minded scientific-technological approach, the complimentarity of views approach, and the tender-minded new-humanism approach. These three approaches correspond roughly to the three styles of teaching and learning described by Harry Broudy, namely, didactic, heuristic, and philetic.[24] And as we shall see later in this chapter, when these three are arrayed orthogonally to current views concerning the occupational status of teaching, a matrix is provided in which a variety of the newer programs of teacher education can be systematically located.

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[22] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[23] Henry David Aiken, *Predicament of the University* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1971), p. 368.

[24] Harry S. Broudy, "Didactics, Heuristics, and Philetics," *Academic Environment,* Symposium on Instruction. College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, 1971.

Philosophy of Education

Given these different opinions concerning how the educational issues and problems of the elementary school ought to be viewed, what should be the role of the discipline of philosophy of education? Is it to supply the "philosophic context" in which the various approaches to education can be understood in relation to their own implicit assumptions and their larger social implications? One view of the philosopher has it that he, being a man given more to thought than action, spends his time developing a rationale (or even a rationalization) for what the men of action are doing. A philosophy thus becomes a reflection of the culture—an intellectualization of current trends, values, and goals. A much older tradition believes that philosophy is the quest for transcultural, supercultural (or, as we would say these days, metacultural) understanding—the search for a wisdom that enables one to rise above cultural and other forms of bias.

But neither of these views is very popular in philosophy today. It is now frequently said that there are really three different kinds of philosophy: analytic, normative, and speculative. This manner of speaking stems, I believe, from a faulty conception of "normative" and "speculative" and, sometimes, from a too narrow conception of analysis. Normative should not be confused with prescriptive. A normative question is a question about the proper (i.e., defensible) norms for the guidance of thought and action—that is, what are the proper standards, rules, models, types, or the like? For example, the question "What ought I to do?" is a practical, not a normative, question. It invites a recommendation or prescription. By contrast, the question "What ought *one* to do (in a situation such as this)?" invites an explication of defensible rules or standards. Now, of course, if the person asking the question is a moral person, he will feel obligated to do what one ought to do. However, this indirect prescriptive force comes not from the moral norms but from the person's commitment to being moral. In education a professional commitment means that one feels obligated to do what an *educator* ought to do.

Today it is common among philosophers of education to deny that their work is speculative. But why this disclaimer? Unless one deliberately selects the pejorative meaning of "speculative" (i.e., conjecture from insufficient evidence), any study may properly be called speculative if it is one that consciously, even systematically, examines and ponders a subject from more than one aspect, relation, point of view, or the like. The study is *speculativus* not because of wild conjecture but because it attempts to search out "ways of seeing" the evidence that go beyond what is routine or narrowly specialized.

Finally, since analysis of some kind is indispensable to all normative and speculative studies, I conclude that *all philosophy is analytic, normative, and speculative*. Philosophers, as do other persons, sometimes offer various recommendations or prescriptions, but they are not part of philosophy. The time is long past, if it ever existed, when it was excusable to confuse philosophy of education with educational policy recommendations.

Without repeating the excellent chapter by Frankena, "Philosophic Inquiry," in the Sixty-fifth Yearbook,[25] I shall use what space remains to present some comments about the general nature of education. While it is true, of course, that certain aspects of educational theory (e.g., the psychology of human growth and development) must be carefully attuned to specific age levels, the philosophic dimension of educational problems usually seems to apply with equal force at all levels. Perhaps it is in this sense that the philosopher of education may properly be called a generalist.

The Meaning of Education

In ordinary language the word *education* is, unfortunately, a concrete term—the name for a process through which one is educated. It is also the name for any system or institution charged with educating and, at the same time, the name given to the formal study of such processes, systems, and institutions. By contrast, the term *justice* is both concrete and abstract. We not only speak of a department or system of justice, or of "justice" as the state of affairs that is the result or outcome of some process, but we also use *justice* as the name for the property in things which is essential if the term *just* is to apply. In short, justice is also abstract; it means justness. A philosophy of justice, then, means, as Plato clearly saw, a philosophy of justness.

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[25] William K. Frankena, "Philosophic Inquiry," chap. 10 in *The Changing American School*, Sixty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

If we were to treat *education* as an abstract term (meaning approximately *educativeness*), then philosophy of education, as Dewey came close to seeing, *ought to be concerned primarily with explicating the nature of that property or quality of an experience that entitles it to be called educative or educationally valuable.* This, of course, represents a sharp break with a long tradition in which philosophy of education has been concerned with the so-called aims of education or with developing a defensible list of the knowledge, skills, values, etc., possessed by "the educated man."

Certainly any department or system of justice ought to have the promotion of *justness* as its central purpose. Surely, schooling should have *education* as its central purpose.[26] Moreover, when we speak of a "just man," it is clear that we have reference to a disposition (or to a set of dispositions) rather than to any particular knowledge or skills that he may possess. And, of course, a just man is not merely one who on some occasion behaved justly; there must be evidence of a tendency toward just conduct in a variety of situations over a span of time.

This is not to say that knowledge, skills, and (perhaps especially) attitudes and values are not relevant to just conduct and to the disposition to behave justly. Of course they are! But justness cannot be characterized in these terms nor can the educated man be adequately characterized in terms of any particular knowledge, skills, values, or attitudes.

From the standpoint of the elementary school, the studies made by Piaget and reported in his *The Moral Judgment of the Child*[27] are very helpful in this connection. In addition, the development of sound dispositions is, evidently, given high priority in the best of the British infant schools. Even if, however, we were able to specify all of the dispositions that constitute "being educated,"[28] we still would not have an adequate grasp of the nature of educational value.

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[26] For a presentation and symposium discussion on this point, see Philip G. Smith, "Objectives for American Education," in *Educational Planning in the United States: A Phi Delta Kappa Symposium*, ed. S. E. Elam and G. Swanson (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1969), pp. 1-39.

[27] J. Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child*, trans. Marjorie Gaboin (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932).

The question of what kinds of experience tend to foster the development of this or that disposition is, in principle, amenable to empirical research (although the expression "what kinds of" is probably just a place filler for a great deal of badly needed conceptual work). But while the idea of fostering dispositions is more useful than most discussions of aims of education, it still suffers from the defect of all such discussions; it views education as an instrumental process designed to produce some kind of product, in this case a certain set of dispositions.

As abstract nouns, *education* and *justice* are the names for normative or guiding ideals. As ideals they have no aim, no external targets or goals, nor are they merely means to some greater good, e.g., the life that is good on the whole. Rather, they are part of that greater good. This is why the *educational value* of an experience cannot properly be assessed in instrumental terms. Let us examine this point in the context of elementary education and the preparation of elementary school teachers.

Educational Value

A distinction among three types of value (or valuing) may prove helpful. An *instrumental value* is something that is valuable as a means to the attainment of something else. Fortunately, many things that have great instrumental value are also valuable from other points of view. But to the extent that something is viewed *merely* as a means, we put up with it *merely* for the sake of the end. We would gladly dispense with it if possible. In short, it is a necessary evil.

Many philosophers of education[29] have recognized that an assessment of the instrumental value of an experience (or some ingredient of an experience) is not the appropriate way to get at its educational value. Unfortunately, however, some have evidently concluded that the only alternative to instrumental value is *intrinsic value.* John Dewey tried to get out of this dichotomy by talking about the interpenetration of means and ends, but this is a rather complex doctrine and evidently has not been widely understood. I suggest, therefore, the notion of *contributory value.*[30] This is a form of organic relationship in which both meaning and significance (i.e., value) flow back and forth between part and whole.

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[28] For an interesting discussion of dispositions as aims of education, see William K. Frankena, "Educational Values and Goals: Some Dispositions to be Fostered," *The Monist* 52 (January 1968): 1–10, also reprinted in Philip G. Smith, ed., *Theories of Value and Problems of Education* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 99-108.

[29] See, e.g., R. S. Peters, *Ethics and Education* (New York: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1967).

Consider, for example, the man who walks a mile for a cigarette. Viewed instrumentally, the mile-long walk is a necessary evil—the price that must be paid in order to attain the desired end. But suppose the man hikes a mile uphill to view the sunrise. He may consider both the hiking and the viewing as part of "the valued experience." The value of each part of the experience is enhanced because of its contribution to the whole.

Actually, this mode of valuing is a commonplace in an educational setting. Consider the difference between the graduate student in elementary education who must take "some sort of job" in order to pay for his studies and the student who is paid as a research or teaching associate while engaging in significant activities that are part of his degree program. The instrumental value of the stipend received is simply not relevant when judging the *educational value* of the work activities.

What may be needed is the adoption of this commonplace as a model for judging educational value at all levels. How well will some proposed experience fit into, contribute to, and become a part of some larger educational whole that is envisioned? As teachers, how often do we assure our students (and reassure ourselves) that working through the assignment we are about to make is a *necessary means* to some highly desirable educational end? If we could get rid of this mode of thinking, we might free ourselves to take a more honest look at the educational value of the assignment itself—at the probable *contributory value* of the *experience* the children will likely have as they attempt to carry out the assignment.

Now, of course, no one is able to keep constantly in mind a detailed envisionment of "being educated" against which to assess the contributory value of some planned learning experience. And even if one could, any precise assessment with even the youngest learners would require an enormously complex calculus involving the principle of organic unities. Nevertheless, we do manage such value judgments with some degree of reliability by employing the device of "prima facie goods." For example, we do not need a detailed picture of "a life that is good on the whole" in order to accept (unless there is some specific counterreason in a particular situation) a long list of "goods" that seem highly likely to make a worthwhile contribution—a good meal, a good night's rest, extending and receiving affection, kindness, courtesy, sympathy, and so on. There are obvious correlates in planning for educational experiences. My point, at this time, is to urge those who specialize in such planning to replace the usual means-ends mode of thinking with a consideration of contributory value as they attempt to assess the probable educational value of proposed experiences.

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[30] See, e.g., C. I. Lewis, *An Analysis of Knowledge and Valuation* (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1946).

Teaching As Instrumental

Even though education should not be viewed in instrumental terms, teaching, being a goal-directed activity, can and should be. While teaching may be directed toward ends that have little or even negative educational value (e.g., the Hitler Youth Movement), teaching is probably the most powerful instrumental activity man has yet developed. Without teaching—that is, without the deliberate attempt to guide and facilitate learning—the *educational value of* most experience is minimal indeed.

Based upon communications theory, the usual paradigm for teaching and learning—A teaches X to B (under conditions C)—is inadequate and misleading for all except the most simple cases in which teaching becomes telling. The paradigm suggests either that X can be directly conveyed by A to B or that it is directly from A's teaching that B learns X. Actually, of course, whatever B learns he learns from *his* experience. Teaching (including self-teaching) consists of various kinds of deliberate interventions in that experience—giving instruction, altering the environment, motivating, imposing conceptual structure—in the attempt to modify and enrich the experience. When the teaching is successful, the experience is altered in such a way that the learner achieves the intended objectives.

It follows that teaching can be evaluated in two ways—directly and indirectly. Direct evaluation (sometimes called an instrumental evaluation) consists of observing the teaching activities and judging whether they are well calculated under the circumstances to shape experiences in the desired manner and whether they are performed skillfully. Indirect (or consequential) evaluation consists of inferential judgments concerning whether the teaching activities were effective—that is, whether the students learned anywhere near what the teacher envisioned. These two forms of evaluation are part of the science of teaching. Nearer to the heart of the philosopher is a third evaluation: Was the learning experience educative?

These few sentences should be sufficient to suggest the conceptual inadequacy behind much that is written in both the "behavioral objectives"[31] and the "affective education" movements. Since a teacher ought to be a professional practitioner and ought to be able *to perform* skillfully and appropriately, it makes good sense to include in a teacher-training program a large set or repertoire of teaching procedures or performances. And a teacher should not object to being evaluated in terms of his ability to select or devise appropriate teaching procedures and to perform skillfully. But the point and purpose of such teacher performance *is not to teach children to perform* but to shape learning experiences so as to enhance their *educational* value.

Concerning affective education, the nub of the matter, Terry Borton[32] quickly discovered, is not to abdicate teaching in favor of sensitivity training and group therapy but to learn how to perform *as a teacher* in ways well calculated to shape learning experiences in the direction of greater insight into "relationship, self-identity, and control"—experiences in which "students are more open about their feelings, more careful in their thinking, and more responsible for their actions."[33]

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[31] For further elaboration see Philip G. Smith, "On the Logic of Behavioral Objectives," *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (1972): 429–31.

[32] Terry Borton, *Reach, Touch and Teach* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970).

[33] Ibid., p. 166.

Teacher Education

For many years there have been two antithetical views concerning the status or nature of teaching as an occupation and, consequently, of the proper preparation for that occupation. Some have believed that teaching is essentially a craft to be learned by apprenticeship. Proper preparation consists of taking a student who is well prepared in the subject or subjects to be taught and, by observation and practice teaching under the supervision of an experienced teacher, encourage him to develop the intuitions and techniques that are characteristic of experienced teachers.

The second view considers teaching as essentially a problem-solving situation calling for highly creative solutions. In the classroom the teacher is confronted with a never ending and always changing series of problems in the task of getting *particular* students to learn *particular* things under *particular* circumstances. Proper preparation consists, therefore, of teaching the prospective teacher all that we possibly can of what is known about the three elements in this task: pupils, subject matters, and situations. Proponents of this view usually contend that the so-called foundations (philosophical, psychological, historical, sociological, etc.) should be prominent in teacher preparation (as well as subject matter to be taught), for the foundational studies (along with liberal education) produce the kind of person who can recognize, understand, and devise solutions to the problems encountered in teaching. Adherents of the craft approach tend to condemn foundational studies as irrelevant and impractical; foundation adherents denigrate the craft approach as "nonprofessional."

Caught between these two views, actual programs in schools of education tend to eventuate in a series of compromises that satisfy no one and to produce graduates likely to be neither theoretically competent nor really skilled classroom performers. As a result, it is said by popular writers that a "mindlessness" pervades American schooling; that the typical classroom is a dull, uninspiring, joyless place; that our schools are unfit for even middle-class suburbanites and almost totally irrelevant for all others.

In an attempt to break out of this situation, certain philosophers of education began devising criteria for the *professional* preparation of teachers. The idea was to conceive of teacher preparation as a program for producing professional practitioners who would be competently trained in theoretically sound procedures. Graduates of the program would thus be more or less comparable to beginning engineers or architects.

The basic assumption behind this approach is that significant portions of classroom teaching can be reduced to more or less standardized procedures that are made up of standard components. Through proper instruction and training, preservice or in-service teachers can be taught to master the standard components and procedures and, in the process, learn to make connections between these performances and the theoretical content of the humanistic and behavioral studies that are included in teacher education. Such a teacher, while well trained, would not be merely trained. He would be prepared to perform with skill and insight a standard repertoire of teaching procedures. He also would have the theoretical-conceptual understanding to enable him to judge the appropriateness of the various procedures in actual situations and to invent ad hoc procedures for exceptional cases.

As a result we now have three competing approaches to the preparation of teachers: the craft-apprenticeship approach, the professional-practitioner approach, and the creative problem-solver approach. Placed in a matrix with the three conceptions of teaching-learning that we noted earlier, we have the following array:

	Scientific-Technological or Didactics	Complimentarity of Views or Heuristics	New Humanism or Philetics
Craft-Apprentice	1	2	3
Professional Practitioner	4	5	6
Creative Problem-Solver	7	8	9

This matrix suggests nine fairly distinct programs for *teacher training*. It seems likely that each of these programs, if rigorously executed, would produce a teacher superior in particular ways to the graduates of our more compromised programs. It should be understood, of course, that each of the nine assumes that the *training* programs will be built upon the usual liberal education, subject matter or grade-level specialization, and what might be called "the professional overlay," that is, history of education, study of the organization and management of public education, study of the social-philosophical aspects of education, and so forth.

Some of the new programs designed to prepare teachers for alternative schools seem to fall clearly within cell three. The major problem, of course, is to find suitable experienced teachers actually practicing the new humanism and philetic teaching to which trainees can be apprenticed. Moreover, if the trainees are to understand what is going on, then their liberal education and professional overlay should include the "tender-minded" philosophical and psychological versions of the nature of education and of the teaching and learning process. Without this consistency in the education of teachers, an apprenticeship program is not likely to produce the desired results. Indeed, since dispositions are not easily changed in young adults, a careful selection program that would admit only those persons already having suitable tender-minded temperaments would be a likely prerequisite for success.

If a new humanism program were to be conceived in cell six, then, in addition, trainees would be required to master suitable teaching procedures using appropriate training materials, microteaching, and the like, based perhaps on the kind of teaching interventions devised by Borton and associates.

A cell five program, reflecting the ideas found in *Teachers for the Real World*,[34] seems to hold great promise for preparing the kind of professionals most likely to cope with the realities testified to by my colleagues in this yearbook. But we must remember that cell five, being in the middle, so to speak, requires carefully articulated and broadly based education as well as a rigorous training program. In fact, the development of cell five programs may be the only way of restoring the credibility of schools of education —a credibility that has been eroded badly by the clash of contemporary versions of the tough-minded and tender-minded temperaments.

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[34] B. Othanel Smith et al., *Teachers for the Real World* (Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1969).

This matrix suggests a range of alternatives. However, whatever new or revised programs are developed for the preparation of elementary school teachers, the quest for more adequate philosophic understanding must continue. Specialists in philosophy of education will continue, no doubt, to provide analyses and suggestions in the effort to help all educators develop perspective, but the crucial substantive questions will continue to be answered by the day-to-day decisions of other specialists. As C. E. Lewis once remarked, "The man who is his own lawyer or physician will be poorly served; but everyone both can and must be his own philosopher." [35] And as Hullfish noted, "philosophy . . . has the mission of helping men think more deeply about the consequences of their daily acts in order that they may with greater wisdom choose those consequences which help all men extend the depth of their thinking." [36]

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35. Clarence I. Lewis, *Mind and the World Order* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), p. 2.

36. H. Gordon Hullfish, *Philosophy and Education in Interaction* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1944), p. 13.

CHAPTER VI

Views of the Child

DORRIS M. LEE

Introduction

Elementary education has become a conglomeration of practices as divergent beliefs, financial pressures, new procedures, and novel materials have combined to change a number of aspects of schooling in the United States. Since too often the changes have taken place in bits and pieces, the school program has been scarred by internal inconsistencies and has become increasingly vulnerable to attacks by liberals and conservatives alike. Any real understanding of the positions advocating and opposing various changes in school practice must be based on our awareness of the many viewpoints about what constitutes a "good" education.

Many of these conflicting vewpoints center on the body of beliefs held by Americans about the nature of man. Though not generally verbalized, intuitive and implicit feelings and beliefs have been the underlying forces pressuring both for and against virtually all forms of change. Since these polarizing forces mainly have been unrecognized by the decision-makers on the firing line, relevant discussion of the issues heretofore has rarely been possible.

An effective way better to understand the varied practices found in the elementary school, then, is to look at certain major beliefs concerning the nature of man. There is a number of these conflicting beliefs which have had adherents from one pole to the other in a sort of continuum. The major ones discussed here are the following:

1. Man as inherently evil vs. man as inherently good
2. Man as a puppet of circumstances vs. man as mainly self-determining
3. Man's actions as determined by the impact of a given situation

vs. man's actions as the result of seeking to meet basic needs in the situation

4. The self-concept as of little importance vs. the self-concept as the most important aspect of the individual's progress toward achieving his maximum potential

These issues will be discussed in terms of their influence and impact on American elementary education in the twentieth century. In each case, attempts will be made to identify the source of various ideological positions and the elementary school practices which were influenced or supported by these beliefs.

Discussion in this chapter has been limited to those theories, beliefs, and practices which educational literature suggests were widely accepted at one time or other during the century and to those strong countertrends which actually succeeded in changing elementary schools in significant ways. These trends have been identified in the context of their image of man as put forth by leaders of thought in the field. Through their consistent defense and explanation of their positions, these scholars have served as useful catalysts in the emerging changes which have influenced the lives and the schooling of children. While their positions of necessity must be oversimplified, the essential thrust and main direction of their thinking can be summarized to enable us better to understand the effects of their philosophies on the contemporary elementary school.

Major Issues in the Image of Man

MAN AS EVIL VS. MAN AS GOOD

One of the earliest and perhaps most influential of all the forces affecting man's image of man has been the religious ethic. Since the seventeenth century, various groups with contrasting beliefs have endeavored to influence the schools and to a lesser degree continue to do so today. A major force has been the Puritan ethic—authoritarian, self-denying, glorifying work—emanating mainly from the New England states. A kindred ethic known as fundamentalism predominated in the South and Midwest. Counterforces have included the beliefs of a wide range of smaller groups with different religious heritages as well as the viewpoints of dissidents to the major religious forces. Among them were the Congregationalists, who insisted on rule by the parishioners rather than by a church hierarchy, and the so-called libertarians who supported individualism and the individual's right to self-determination.

The Puritan ethic's implications for schooling are founded on certain assumptions. These include the belief that the only road to salvation is through knowledge of the Bible and adherence to its teachings as perceived by the individual. Thus, all must be able to read, which has the unspoken implication that all can be taught to read. This belief has influenced public support of education and led to the almost universal assumption that learning is based on reading. The highly book-oriented procedures in instruction still prevalent today are the logical result.

The authoritarian aspect of Puritanism implies that the average person, and particularly the child, will not do what he "should" unless someone makes him. In other words, children and even most adults are basically "bad" and so must be controlled and directed if good is to result. Since leisure and play do not contribute to the total good, play is "bad" and work is "good." Because children want to play, this is further evidence of their natural wickedness. Since thought and contemplation give no visible clue of accomplishment, it is essential for children to "look" busy. So strong is this interpretation that it is evident in the majority of classrooms even today. It is bad just to sit and stare, regardless of the inner processes. The idea that production is essential can still be seen in many of the newer programs today.

Those who are opposed to this imposition of unquestioned obedience, the work ethic, and belief in the essentially evil nature of man promote individual freedom of judgment and action. The beliefs supporting the American Revolution and the development of a democracy expressed the right of self-determination and a wide variety of freedoms as well as faith in the ability of individuals to make good decisions. The implications, mainly unexpressed, were that man is basically good and as a unique individual must make his own decisions within reasonable limits. The results of this trend can be seen in the increasing advocacy of self-direction and individualizing of instruction.

A more modern version of this conflict between views of man as basically either good or evil can be seen in the work of Sigmund Freud, who devised one of the most comprehensive and influential theories of human behavior. Greatly influenced by the work of Charles Darwin, he saw man as the product of accidental evolution, being neither different from animals nor superior to them. He broke with the religious beliefs of his day, denying divine descent and the existence of an immortal soul and saw the religious experience as a naïve delusion. While thus denying many of the tenets of religion, he nonetheless extended and amplified the position of some established religious doctrines by emphasizing the basically evil nature of man which he contended created a constant conflict between man and society. Thus, man's impulses had to be repressed for it was harmful to society to enjoy them or give in to them. He saw hostility as basic "since men always place their newly won powers at the service of their aggressiveness, and use them against one another." [1]

Much of this negative attitude about man may well have come from the fact that most of Freud's work was with the ill, the delinquent, the person in trouble. He found many patients recalling unhappy, traumatic, or guilt-laden experiences from childhood which he deemed to be significant in understanding the personality of his client. As a result, he came to put great importance on the child's early years and saw knowledge of a person's childhood as the most important factor in understanding his subsequent personality or problems.

In another dimension, Freud believed sex to be one of the most important forces influencing a person's life. It was this element as well as the hostility which society, built by man himself, required man to suppress or sublimate. When the suppression was too great for man to deal with, mental illness resulted.

Perhaps one of Freud's greatest contributions was his postulating of the subconscious and its influence on man's behavior. His theories brought about recognition of the "inner being" of mankind. Another useful Freudian concept, that of the id, the ego, and the superego, was developed and redefined to give a different image of man in the twentieth century.

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[1] Sigmund Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1933), p. 242.

Views about the basic good or evil nature of man have also influenced educational theory. The writings and teachings of Rousseau (1712-1778), for example, were anchored in his beliefs about the mind of man and have been influential well into the twentieth century. Rousseau taught that everything in nature is good and that evil is man-made. He insisted, therefore, that we must leave the child to develop in his own way without interference, since nature will teach him "good" and man can only inculcate "evil." Education should consist not in teaching virtue or truth but in preserving the heart from vice and from the spirit of error.[2] Somewhat ineptly from a semantic point of view, his theory came to be known as *negative education.* That his views had a major impact on elementary schools even in the early twentieth century was attested to by the republication of *Émile* at that time. In fact, the Progressive Education Association was influenced more by Rousseau than by Dewey, who is commonly associated with the Progressive movement.

Froebel's (1782-1852) ideas, too, were rooted in basic beliefs about the nature of man. With Rousseau, he believed that the evil in men was not the result of an original evil nature but rather of the distorting effects of instruction and interference from without. He saw the child as gradually "unfolding" in a predestined fashion if there were no serious interferences from without. Therefore, by founding the kindergarten, he provided an environment where children could be guarded and protected and where education was "not *prescriptive, categoried, interfering.*"[3]

Both within the educational establishment and in society in general there still exist fundamental differences of opinion in regard to views of man as either evil or good and with respect to religious beliefs affecting what is taught to children. One specific area of disagreement is between the fundamentalists, who seek to interpret the Bible literally, and the scientists, who cite research findings at variance with those interpretations. Even though the recent (1968) trial in Arkansas of a teacher presenting the principles of evolution was decided in the teacher's favor, the case indicates that there are still many who are deeply offended and distressed by such heretical teachings. However, as scientific knowledge advances and is verified and children are involved in the processes and with the findings, the influence of the fundamentalists is lessening. Broadening of the curriculum has resulted. At the same time, a "value void" has been left which science alone cannot fill. One of our human and educational tasks is to fill this vacuum.

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[2] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (New York: Dutton & Co., 1911), p. 57.

[3] Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man*, trans. W. H. Hailmann (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887), pp. 7-8.

Another area of disagreement has been between the absolutists and the relativists as to the way individuals arrive at the values which determine their behavior. The absolutists, often students of the humanities rather than the sciences, tend to accept the premise that there are unchanging referents or value bases by which knowledge or truth can be assessed. This implies that there is essential knowledge which must be passed down from generation to generation. The school then becomes one of the important means of transmitting the accumulated wisdom of the race.

The relativists see values as well as knowledge as needing to be reassessed in terms of a changing world. In other words, conditions change and so do our concepts of knowledge and truth. In such a philosophical context, the role of the school becomes one of developing competence in inquiry and experimentation, keeping an open mind, and reserving judgment until the data are in.

MAN AS A PUPPET OF CIRCUMSTANCE VS. MAN AS MAINLY SELF-DETERMINING

The controversy as to whether man is free or a slave of circumstance stems from two main centers, England and the Germanic countries.[4] The basic dichotomy between these two positions appears in the philosophies of Locke and Leibnitz.

John Locke (1632-1704) developed the premise that the mind of an individual is a blank slate—a *tabula rasa*—at birth. He postulated that the intellect is passive, gaining knowledge and competence only by the impact of sensations impinging on it. Lockian empiricism holds that what is external (or can be made so) and therefore visible is thus objective and the only data that can be known. Motives are regarded as drives, but the cause is external to the person. Pavlov's work in Russia with the conditioned response in dog's salivation at the sound of a bell served to reinforce Locke's basic tenets and evolved into what came to be called the S-R school of psychology.

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[4] A useful discussion of these two schools and their differences appears in Gordon Allport, *Becoming* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955).

In contrast, the alternate approach put forth by Leibnitz (1646-1716) was based on the concept that the person is the source of his acts and that behavior is purposive. Locke believed that man was reactive when stimulated, while Leibnitz felt that he was self-directed. Leibnitz conceived of the intellect as a central core and saw it as an active ingredient or entity capable of dealing with sensory data according to its own inherent nature. Later, Franz Buntano considered the model for the mind the active participle, while to John Dewey the mind was "primarily a verb"—a phrase intended also to suggest action.

These two conflicting views of the nature of the mind have provided the basis for the work of many influential educational philosophers. Obviously, adherence to either the purposive or reactive theory will make a great deal of difference in the educational experience and context provided for children.

The reactive view can be traced through the work of J. F. Herbart (1775-1841). Though he rejected both the *tabula rasa* theory and the Leibnetzian idea of man's mind as active in its own right,[5] his theories and teachings in education were based on the image of the mind as passive and idea absorbing. The mind, however, was able to build a coordinated understanding when this was carefully planned for. He placed the *idea* as the key to action, believing that mental activity was inherent in the ideas themselves. Thus his theory of education was based on the necessity to instill ideas, as different from information, as a basis of learning. Working toward a science of education based on psychological laws or principles, one of his major contributions was his concept of apperception or the uniting of new ideas with previously acquired ideas.[6] This resulted in his four steps of teaching: (a) *presentation,* clear setting forth of an idea; (b) *association*, relating of new idea to old; (c) *system*, arranging in logical order; and (d) *method*, applying idea to some problem or new situation. These were later reorganized into the familiar five steps (see chapter 2).

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[5] J. F. Herbart, *A Text Book in Psychology*, trans. Margaret K. Smith (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1895), p. 120.

[6] J. F. Herbart, *Outlines of Educational Doctrine*, trans. Alexis F. Lange (New York: Macmillan Co., 1901), pp. 63-64.

Herbart's concern with apperception, building a cohesive body of understanding and relating new ideas to it, led to his correlation of content which emerged later as the core curriculum. He also taught the importance of planning courses of study in detail and working out lesson plans in advance and following them carefully.

The view of the mind of man as passive and reactive can be found today in the psychological theory of behaviorism. John B. Watson (1878-1958), who is credited with formulating the theory, was influenced by Locke, Pavlov, Freud, and Wundt—the latter credited with founding scientific psychology. Watson's goal was to make psychology as objective and scientific as possible. Building on the general movement toward the objective approach pioneered by Isaac Newton, Louis Pasteur, and Charles Darwin, the behaviorists confined themselves strictly to a so-called scientific approach and placed emphasis on discernible external, environmental influences. Watson says that "you, as a psychologist, if you are to remain scientific, must describe the behavior of man in no other terms than those you would use in describing the behavior of the ox you slaughter. . . ."[7]

Another of the influential behaviorists, Edward L. Thorndike (1874-1949), built his educational psychology on the presumption that the S-R formula could be adapted to explain all human behavior. His conclusions and proposals for education were quite compatible with those of Watson. Thorndike preferred the term *situation-response* over Watson's *stimulus-response*, but both saw the individual as passive and receptive, reacting to the active external environment. The physiological basis for education thus was construed to be the modifiability of synapses between neurons.[8]

Thorndike's major laws of learning—those of exercise, readiness, and effect—were developed in light of this physiological basis and interpreted in terms of it. Thus he saw man acting neither with purpose nor with an end in view. His problem-solving was basically random trial and error, as illustrated, for example, by rats in a cage, who, after a variety of attempts, finally release the latch and, in a state of readiness, make the "connection" through the law of effect. Additional trials become shorter due to the law of exercise.

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[7] John B. Watson, *Behaviorism*, rev. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1930), p. ix.

[8] Edward L. Thorndike, *Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), p. 64.

B. F. Skinner has moved well away from the classical behaviorist position. He calls the S-R theory outdated and simplistic, preferring the concept of operant conditioning.[9] In his *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* [10] he proposes a new image of man by abandoning the idea that man is autonomous. This, he says, is a way of explaining what we cannot explain in any other way. His position is that "a person's behavior is determined by a genetic endowment traceable to the evolutionary history of the species and by the environmental circumstances to which, as an *individual*, he has been exposed." [11] He accepts the uniqueness of the individual for "even within the most regimented culture every personal history is unique." [12]

Skinner interprets all mental processes in terms of response to the environment or contingencies of reinforcement. Forming a concept or abstraction, then, is interpreted as "certain kinds of contingencies of reinforcement [bringing] a response under the control of a single property of a stimulus." [13] He puts the emphasis on what can be seen or observed, e.g., as by defining *remembering* as a situation bringing forth a response previously acquired. He accepts the term *thinking* and *problem-solving* but interprets them in terms of the contingencies, both natural and specially constructed by the culture, which reinforce certain behavior. To him, *self* is "a repertoire of behavior appropriate to a given set of contingencies."[14]

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[9] S-R psychology, prominent early this century, was based largely on physiology. Briefly, the theory was that a stimulus to nerve endings was carried along neural pathways to trigger a response. Learning occurred as the synapses along the desired pathways were strengthened so the stimulus would more regularly bring the correct response. Pavlov's experiment in conditioning the dog was a major impetus to this movement. This was recognized by many as leaving out too many factors in a very complex situation, and the theory was gradually modified to become the current one of operant conditioning. In this, animal experiments demonstrated that behavior that led to a reward was learned as with the pigeons used by Skinner. It was then extended to humans, and children also "learned" when their responses were rewarded. Programmed learning is based upon this principle.

[10] B. F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

[11] B. F. Skinner, "Beyond Freedom and Dignity," *Psychology Today* 5 (August 1971):59.

[12] Ibid., p. 79.

[13] Ibid., p. 77.

On the basis of these and other reinterpretations, Skinner sees important progress toward a technology of behavior comparable to our physical and biological technology. "To man *qua* man we readily say good riddance. Only by dispossessing autonomous man can we turn to the real causes of human behavior—from the inferred to the observed, from the miraculous to the natural, from the inaccessible to the manipulable."[15]

An example of an educational philosophy embracing the idea of the mind of man as purposive is that of John Dewey (1859-1952). Dewey's influence began to grow after 1896, the year he became director of the University of Chicago Laboratory School, where he initiated experimentation with what came to be known as the project method of teaching. Five years later Francis W. Parker opened his school, also in Chicago, further implementing Dewey's activity method and building on the child's motivations, needs, and growth.[16]

Dewey's basic idea of the importance of "pupil-purposing" and his emphasis on the opportunity for pupils to achieve their purposes through their own planning and doing was based on his belief in their ability to be self-directed. His approach, unfortunately, more often than not was distorted by his followers. The project method, which was a way of utilizing the child's own purposing, soon degenerated into an instrumental program. The *doing*, which should have been the final step in the child's thinking, planning, and carrying out, became the main force. The freedom which was given children so they might establish their own purposes sometimes even became silly do-whatever-you-want programs.

While Dewey's name has been widely associated with the Progressive Education Association, established in 1919, he often differed significantly with many self-styled Progressives. He believed that simply indulging an interest results only accidentally in growth. "But," he said, "let the child just express his impulse, and then through criticism, questions and suggestions bring him to consciousness of what he has done, and what he needs to do, and the result is quite different." [17]

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[14] Ibid., p. 78.

[15] Ibid., p. 78.

[16] After Parker's death in 1902, many of his ideas were implemented by Flora Cooke.

Again Dewey has been misinterpreted by the phrase, "learning by doing." This slogan more truly belongs to the behaviorists with whom learning was a process of strengthening neural connections. Dewey, with his emphasis on thinking,[18] was more concerned about the insight at which a child arrived by considering some action he had taken or observed. This position was the result of his concept of man not as a passive receptor, not as the source of all knowing, but as one that combined the child and his environment in an interactive way. Man is a part of the environment and the effective environment for any man is that part which affects him directly. He perceived learning as an integrated experience involving direct participation, consideration of results and insights regarding them, and reorganization of understandings as a basis for new experiences. This new relationship of elements of earlier positions formed a basis for the work of the perceptual psychologists.

MAN'S ACTIONS AS DETERMINED BY THE IMPACT OF SITUATIONS VS. MAN'S ACTIONS AS THE RESULT OF SEEKING TO MEET BASIC NEEDS

Theory concerning the basic needs of man has a long history but major changes have largely occurred since 1900. The lists of such needs have varied from being limited to little more than an enumeration of basic physical needs to long, multifaceted, and complex lists. There was confusion between needs and instincts, especially when McDougall put forth his comprehensive list of a half-century ago.[19] Needs then began to be categorized as *physical,*

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[17] John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900), p. 41.

[18] John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1932).

[19] William McDougall, *An Outline of Psychology* (London: Methuen, 1923).

mental, emotional, and *social.* About mid-century, mutuality needs came into the picture, and so the need to be needed and the need to help others became prominent. Satisfaction of needs came to be seen by many as the main determinant of a person's actions.

A hierarchy of needs has been suggested. Physical needs take precedence, at least within limits, then the emotional-social. Only as these are reasonably satisfied do the intellectual needs come into play.

The most significant change in understanding concerning the effect of needs on behavior came as a result of Maslow's writings.[20] He divided needs into two categories, the *deficiency needs* and the *being needs.* When deficiency needs are not met, people's behavior is focused on striving to meet these needs, and the need for the enriching, extending aspects of life are fairly well ignored. It is only when the deficiency needs are met that the being needs come into play.

As social interaction was studied and as people became aware of the binding and freeing effect of certain types of statements, there were subtle deepenings of our understanding of needs. By the 1930s a positive approach rather than a negative one was recognized to be important. This resulted in an emphasis on praise rather than blame. Then some became aware that often this type of response resulted in developing the child's dependence on the purveyor of praise. The need was then recast so that it became need for recognition of the child's specific accomplishments. The desired response presumably could be accomplished either by a teacher's comment or by helping a child to recognize his own success. It left him free to make his own evaluation and thus his own decision for future action.

Opposing the basic needs theory is the doctrine that a child's behavior is dependent on the reaction of others to it rather than on any basic needs beyond the obvious physical ones. What a child does thus becomes dependent on the rewards or punishments, approval or disapproval, he has received for similar behavior in the past (as in Skinner's position that consequences of behavior determine future behavior). The teacher role becomes one of rewarding by various means whatever behavior he wishes repeated and punishing that which he does not. More recently, greater emphasis has been placed on the positive, so rewards now tend to outnumber punishments in many learning situations. The younger the child or the more serious his disapproved behavior, the more concrete must be the reward for desired behavior and the more often it must be given.[21]

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[20] Abraham Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1962).

Much unplanned and unanalyzed parent and teacher behavior operates on this basis. Children are scolded, punished, denied their wants and desires; sometimes they are denied treats or prized activities or recess periods. The assumption is that in order to avoid these punishments the child will do what the adult wants him to do and thus restore the adult's control over him. Likewise, comments like "Be a good boy" or "That's a good girl" are expected to produce continued desired behavior. Since these methods fail to provide a basis for personal decision-making on the part of the child, he is left to depend on the adult to decide what is desirable. Believing that behavior is determined by the reactions of others and the contingencies of the environment, the adult may plan to make such controlling statements. Such responses on the part of adults may reflect their implicit beliefs about why children do what they do.

Needs theories have a relationship also to the good-bad image of man. One position is that to the extent a child's basic needs are met, he will grow and develop in a healthy manner. When they are not met, the child strives to meet them. The harder he must strive, the more abrasive his behavior is likely to become and so the more disturbing it becomes to others. Repression of this behavior only serves to deny further the fulfillment of the child's needs, which results in a more rigorous aggression. Thus the child is seen as bad.

Some children who have had their attempts to meet their needs too often thwarted give up more easily and find it more comfortable to submit to demands made or to penalties administered by others. When this happens, it encourages the belief that "holding the line," making children do what they "should," has positive results. Teachers and parents do not recognize that this pushes the child toward dependency on others for knowing what to do, and the child, as a result, will fail to develop a viable basis for his own decision-making. Thus his further actions and reactions seem to corroborate the point of view of the behaviorist.

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[21] The movement has many advocates. See, for example, Robert E. Vallett, *Modifying Children's Behavior* (Palo Alto: Fearon, Publishers, 1969).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF SELF IN UNDERSTANDING MAN

Theology long has posited the existence of a soul. The developing science of psychology, however, was loath to postulate a soul or an equivalent intangible inner being to explain what was not understood about human behavior. So, without necessarily changing their religious beliefs, psychologists began eliminating the term and for two generations tried "every conceivable way of accounting for the integration, organization, and striving of the human person without having recourse to the postulate of a self."[22] The behaviorists, for example, find limited use for the concept. Skinner states, "A self is a repertoire of behavior appropriate to a given set of contingencies."[23]

Freud's use of the term *ego* did much to preserve the concept of self, though for him and his followers it had a very different and less dynamic meaning than it has today. William James also kept the term alive by proposing an "empirical self" and a "knowing self" just prior to the beginning of the twentieth century. It was not until some fifty years later, however, that the term began to gain acceptance.

Prior to the early fifties, a loosely structured group of philosopher-psychologists came into prominence. They were variously designated as "Third Force" (behaviorists and Freudians being the other two), Gestaltists, phenomenologists, self-psychologists, or humanistic psychologists.[24] Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Ruth Benedict, Max Wertheimer, Margaret Mead, Gardner Murphy, Rollo May, Carl Rogers, Kurt Goldstein, and Gordon Allport, among others, were thinking and writing from a revitalized and extended view. The basic point of view represented by them has had a profound effect on education.

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[22] Allport, op. cit., p. 37.

[23] Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, op. cit., p. 78. Skinner believes that the effectiveness of a person's behavior does not depend on his awareness of it or what is causing it. However, he does state that when self-observation is important for producing effective behavior, a person should then become self-aware. "SELF-knowledge is valuable only to the extent that it helps to meet the contingencies under which it has arisen" (p. 77).

[24] Cf. A. H. Maslow, "Foreword," in Frank G. Goble, *The Third Force* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970), p. x.

An example of their approach is found in the work of Rollo May. He attempted to unite the essentialist (behaviorist) approach with that of the more extreme existentialists.[25] He states, "There is no such thing as truth or reality for a living human being except as he participates in it, is conscious of it, has some relationship to it."[26] He does not rule out the postulation of drives and discrete mechanisms but rejects assumptions about man which are exclusively based on these as dealing only with abstractions and thereby losing the "existing, living human being."

Abraham H. Maslow was greatly influenced by the thinking of these people. As a young man, he worked with John Watson and Harry Harlow and was a strong advocate of behaviorism. Later he wrote, "Our first baby changed me as a psychologist. It made the behaviorism I had been so enthusiastic about look so foolish I could not stomach it anymore. It was impossible."[27]

Maslow, like Rollo May, did not totally reject the work of Freud and Watson but believed that total loyalty positions were silly. "Our job is to integrate these various truths into the *whole* truth, which should be our only loyalty."[28] He criticized Freud for building his psychology too much on the study of neurotic and psychotic individuals rather than through a study of normal persons as well. He, himself, dealt with the whole range of human experience with special emphasis on peak experiences and the nature of the self-actualizing person. He emphasized the positive aspects of living and healthy personalities, emerging with greater respect for man and greater confidence in man's abilities. He felt that with children it is extremely important to emphasize success rather than failure and their capacity to learn and grow, to "become," rather than their problems and inabilities. In this way the child retains or builds confidence in himself, sees himself as capable, has, in other words, a positive, healthy self-concept.

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[25] See J. P. Sartre, *Existentialism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947).

[26] Rollo May, ed., *Existential Psychology* (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 17. Taken from a paper presented at the Symposium on Existential Psychology at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association in Cincinnati in September 1959.

[27] Abraham H. Maslow, "Music Education and Peak-Experiences," *Music Educators Journal* 54 (1968): 72-75 ff.

[28] Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, op. cit., p. iv.

Carl Rogers started his career in counseling from what he also thought to be a thoroughly objective point of view consistent with behaviorist theory. This included "conceptualizing therapy as being simply the operant conditioning of the client" while "improvement in therapy . . . is to select more wisely the elements to reinforce." He saw it as "not different in kind from Skinner's shaping the behavior of his pigeons toward ping-pong playing."[29] Rogers gradually came to believe, however, that he could be more effective if he "could create a psychological climate in which the client could undertake these functions himself—exploring, analyzing, understanding, and trying new solutions to his problems."[30] In proposing what he contended were testable hypotheses adapted from May's principles, he contributed greatly to the growing body of theory supporting the idea that the child's self-concept is a major determinant of his development:

> The more the *self* of the person is threatened, the more he will exhibit defensive neurotic behavior . . . the more his ways of being and behavior will become constricted.
>
> The more the self is free from threat, the more the individual will exhibit self-affirming behaviors.[31]

Arthur Combs and Donald Snygg in their 1949 publication, *Individual Behavior: A New Frame of Reference for Psychology*,[32] carried forward many of the basic concepts of the existentialists Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. Their contribution was a new emphasis on the uniqueness of the perception of the individual person. The uniqueness of the individual in *all* his aspects—physical, mental, social-emotional, in competence, experience, and concerns—was given a sharper focus. The idea was not new, but its emphasis

[29] Carl R. Rogers, "Two Divergent Trends," chap. 5 in *Existential Psychology*, ed. Rollo May (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 86.

[30] Ibid., p. 87.

[31] Ibid., p. 90.

[32] Donald Snygg and Arthur Combs, *Individual Behavior: A New Frame of Reference for Psychology*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1958).

added another phrase to the lexicon of self-psychologies—"perceptual psychology." The idea had been implicit in the writing of most of the self-psychologists, but its importance for education was now much more widely recognized.

The perceptual psychologist today generally sees the child as basically constructive with a strong drive toward self-realization. At the moment of action, whatever the child does he perceives as best for him in moving toward fulfilling his greatest potential. When such acts are destructive to himself or others, it is due to his perception not being consistent with reality and/or the self-defeating situation in which he finds himself. Therefore, the most useful help he can have is assistance in changing the situation and/or his perception of it to a more constructive one.

The Effects of Beliefs on School Practice

THEORIES OF LEARNING, THE FOUNDATION FOR INSTRUCTION

It may be true that a theory of instruction cannot be built on a theory of learning, but it is obvious that it cannot be built without one. While much credit for understanding how children learn has been given to research in the field, of equal or greater impact have been the beliefs about the nature of the child, since people's feelings are often more influential than their information. For example, the concept of the child's nature as passive led to the conclusion that children learned only what was presented to them and that it must be presented again and again until the desired reaction was attained. Those of the "unfolding" school saw learning as a desirable opportunity for the child to grow, uninhibited and unwarped by those around him. Dewey modified the two and proposed a third view, that learning was *interactive*—a process which involved a unique, dynamic child dealing with his environment and arriving at understandings of his own.

Whether recognized or not, research in learning is based on implicit assumptions that children learn either by "being told" or through exploration of real life situations on their own, or by the interaction theory of Dewey. By far the greatest number of studies have been based on the first hypothesis. Virtually no research has been done on the second, and the third, less manageable in a "controlled research" situation, tends to find its documentation in observation and anecdotal records.

Implications of the behaviorist position. Based on the extension of the *tabula rasa* image of man, many learning experiments have been conducted both as a basis for and as a confirmation of Thorndike's laws of learning. Most attention probably has been given to the "exercise postulate," which is the rationale behind the use of rote drill as a means of facilitating learning. Instruction based on such a theory is relatively easy to set up, materials are easy to devise, and success—accurate repetition—is readily apparent. Though it has lost the support of many educators in the past thirty years, it is still much in evidence in a large number of classrooms today. Certain subjects are considered to be appropriate for rote drill, so teachers assign spelling words to be written ten or twenty times each and use flash cards and other devices to aid in memorizing number combinations and recalling isolated words. The more inept approaches to programmed instruction have lent new importance to drill-centered learning as has the current emphasis on *behavioral objectives.*

One problem in research is that, by the very nature of many research projects, only short-term learning is involved. A major long-term project at the secondary and college level found that students two years later "knew" only one-fourth of what they did at the end of a course.[33] However, such long-term studies are almost impossible to set up, particularly at the elementary level, for it is difficult to take into account further learning situations dealing with the same material or concepts in various ways, both in and out of school during the period of time studied.

A negative approach—assessing what obviously has not been learned by repeated drill or other procedures over a reasonably long period of time—seems one useful alternative. For example, one could ask: What words have children been drilled on in reading that they still are not able to read fluently? What words do they still not regularly spell correctly? What addition or multiplication combinations that they have "had" for several years do they still not regularly respond to correctly? While nearly all teachers are aware of these instances, their usual response is to continue the drill. This is de facto evidence that they basically believe that the child's mind *is* a blank slate on which they can write a durable "message" so long as they press hard enough on the chalk and have enough time to leave an imprint.

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[33] A useful short review of the Eight-Year Study, a longitudinal study conducted from 1935 to 1942, is found in Wilford M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*, vol. 1 in *Adventure in American Education*, 5 vols. American Education Fellowship, Commission on the Relation of School and College (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942).

Another important aspect of the behaviorist position is that learning is most effective when dealing with specifics. Therefore, each process is analyzed and broken down into component parts which are then learned separately. Later they are pieced together and used in appropriate situations. As an illustration, since letters are the smallest unit of written language, after a child learns each one and its sound he can combine them and sound out the words. Another example is programmed learning where each item is taught separately, and later the learner is expected to combine them, generalize from them, and use them as appropriate in real-life situations.

Implications of perceptual psychology. There is today a growing movement toward a quite opposite theory of learning based on the dynamic, purposive nature of the child as a unique individual. While individual differences and the importance of providing for them have been reiterated for more than fifty years, until recently virtually the only form of individualization used was some type of grouping. Effective means of individualizing become a necessity, however, under new theories of learning proposed by the perceptual psychologists.

Kelley and Rasey offer the following definition of man's ways of knowing: "Knowledge . . . is a product or residue of the perception-experience process. It is subjective in nature and unique to the learner. It does not exist before learning begins, or if it does, that fact does not matter." [34] They emphasize the uniqueness of each child's perceptions, the personal quality of all of his knowing, and that it is the result of process. They also emphasize his purposive nature and what this means for learning. They build on the concept of cooperation which documents their belief in the basic goodness of man.

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[34] Earl C. Kelley and Marie I. Rasey, *Education and the Nature of Man* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952), chap. 4.

In the work of the perceputal psychologists the idea of the unity of each person as an inseparable integral whole began to be reemphasized with more understanding for its implications than when Dewey talked about teaching the "whole child." On the basis of these concepts of learning and behaving, a new approach to instruction is gaining increasing acceptance. No longer do educators feel that verbal lessons, either spoken or written, aimed at cognitive learning alone produce significant results. Involvement of the learner both physically and affectively with tasks in which he sees personal meaning has far more effect on his life and living.

Implications of the "unfolding" view of the child. Developmental theory sees the child as a developing being reaching various levels or stages of growth in a systematic order though at different rates. Each stage enables a young learner to perceive in certain ways and to accomplish certain kinds of tasks which he was unable to perceive or do previously. Most of this theory is based on the work of Piaget,[35] who first proposed many of these concepts in the twenties. He was at first lauded and then largely ignored until the 1960s when his name acquired belated prestige and now his works are being read with renewed interest.

Experience, including one's experiential background and the dynamic concept of experiencing as a process, is closely tied to much of the current theory. While "input" was recognized as a factor many years ago, it began to gain acceptance as a way of accomplishing school learning only during the 1940s and 1950s. Recognition of the importance of experience stems from Dewey's concept of interaction as a fundamental element in the nature of man. It is seen as what the child does with what he is aware of in the world as he perceives it. What he blocks out does not become a part of his awareneess. How he perceives what he is aware of, i.e., as helpful or threatening, useful or bothersome, positive or demanding, determines what he does with it. This then becomes a part of his experiencing.

Learning theories and the use of reward. Rewards have been and still are a major issue in learning, with the main conflict being between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. The kind of reward used

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35. Jean Piaget, *The Child's Conception of the World* (London: R & K Paul, 1951).

is based again on the perceived nature of the child. If he is a reactive person, his behavior can best be changed by manipulation. If he is a purposive individual, he will take whatever action he perceives as most useful in meeting his own goals.

Manifestations of the reactive view of the child are found in marking systems, honor rolls, citizen-of-the-week awards, and "passing" at the year's end, all of which are either widely or universally used by the schools as manipulative, extrinsic rewards given to get children to do what the school has decided they "should" do. "Behavior modification" is a recent development attempting to influence behavior from outside the individual by external means.[36] In most cases it is a positive program, that is, a child is rewarded for doing what he is supposed to rather than for not doing what is deemed undesirable. Rewards may be M & M chocolate candies, money, or a certain number of minutes to do what the child wants. They may include praise by the teacher or, later in the process, just an approving smile.

Extrinsic motivation employs rewards for performance or accomplishments, such as gold stars, grades, time-off, points, and the like, which are unrelated to the value of the learning itself. Since the reward is essentially unrelated to the desired behavior, the behavior often ceases when it is no longer rewarded. Giving rewards only intermittently on an unpredictable basis has resulted in the desired behavior continuing for a much longer time. This form of behavior modification has not been used long enough to discover whether or not the desired behavior becomes a more or less permanent way of living for the children. However, those who see psychological dangers in inconsistent treatment of children seriously question this procedure. A further question has to do with the specificity of the rewarded behavior and whether or not the child who responds to extrinsic rewards for specific behaviors will generalize to similar situations he finds later.

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[36] Some illustrative references are the following: Robert Mitchel Browning and Donald O. Stover, *Behavior Modification in Child Treatment* (Chicago: Aldine & Atherton, 1971); George A. Fargo, Charlene Behrns, and Patricia Nolen, *Behavior Modification in the Classroom* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970); Albert Mehrabian, *Tactics of Social Influence* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970); Charles Neuringer and Jack L. Michael, *Behavior Modification in Clinical Psychology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970).

In the purposive view of man's nature, as the child sees certain learning as valuable to him for its own sake, he expends time and effort to accomplish it because it meets his own needs or purposes. Thus, the reward is intrinsic. This rationale has been espoused by all perceptual psychologists, who look at human behavior from the internal point of view.[37] When the intrinsic reward satisfies a child's needs, it can be predicted that he will tend to satisfy his needs in a similar way in the future. Teachers' concerns, however, are that a child never will see desired behavior or learnings as meeting his needs. In this case there are two possibilities—that the learnings do *not* meet his needs and hence are of no value to him at this time, or that he has not yet become aware of the value they can be to him. In the latter case, the teaching role is to provide situations where this awareness results.

Each type of reward is "effective" with some children, the extrinsic being more effective with those who for one reason or another feel it important to please the rewarder; the intrinsic, with the more independent, self-directed child. Both also have side effects, the extrinsic making children more dependent on adults, the intrinsic making them more self-directed. There needs to be further study of the permanence and generalization of desired behaviors under each type of procedure. Also, we must always raise the important question of what other unplanned, perhaps unrecognized, effects are produced by each.

In the last analysis, the resolution of these points of view depends on the basic aims of education as to the kind of person the schools should be developing. This, in turn, depends upon our image of man and the modifications of his nature that are seen to be possible.

INSTRUCTIONAL ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURES

Before the twentieth century virtually all instruction in U.S. schools was based on uniform or similar assignments given to the whole class to bring about a page-by-page conquest of the relatively few books available. Children were expected to "read" and reread their readers until they could do each page accurately. The acquisition of information frequently was a rote-learning process with understanding dependent on the child's own implicit perception and interpretation. The teacher's role was to see that his young charges were kept busy. Teaching methods consisted of recitation—hearing the lesson—and written testing.

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[37] See, for example, Arthur Combs, ed., *Perceiving-Behaving-Becoming* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1962); Abraham H. Maslow, *The Farther Reaching Human Nature* (New York: Viking Press, 1971).

The introduction of Herbart's five-step method of instruction systematized the basic idea of relating new knowledge to what one already knew and perhaps eventually led to the correlation and concentration of the core curriculum. Instead of being a receptor only, the child himself was to put ideas together to build understanding, albeit under the careful guidance of the teacher.

By the end of the decade of the thirties, the curriculum had been divided into "units" which were defined as "purposeful [to the learner], related activities so developed as to give insight into, and increased control of, some significant aspects of living; and to provide opportunities for the socialization of pupils." [38] These concepts indicate changes in several basic beliefs. First, there was increased confidence in the purposefulness of the child. There also was the expectation that a child could put things together so that they make sense and arrive at his own understanding and insights. The child was given more responsibility for increased control of significant aspects of living. Also, the socialization of the child came to be an accepted goal of the school.

By the 1960s, the definition of a unit had changed from its original interpretation to "a planned and organized problem approach to a relatively large and significant area of learning." [39] The curriculum was characterized by the study of larger topics interrelating the various aspects involved. A renewed emphasis on the problem approach, similar to that advocated by Dewey, remains an increasingly significant factor in instruction today. A number of related interpretations have developed, such as the inquiry or heuristic (discovery) approach, the development of higher-level thinking skills, and the like. All of these see the child as able to identify and solve problems and to deal more effectively with his world.

In order to deal with the range of individual differences within a classroom, teachers began to recognize the need for individualized instruction. The first step was grouping on the basis of ability or achievement within the classroom, often manifested in the form of three reading groups. Realizing this was still inadequate and spurred by generally increasing concern for children as individuals, educators began to stress more elaborate schemes for individualizing.

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[38] J. Murray Lee and Dorris May Lee, *The Child and His Curriculum* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), p. 222.

[39] J. Murray Lee and Dorris May Lee, *The Child and His Curriculum*, 3d ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960), p. 173.

The first step in individualizing instruction was diagnosis, mainly on the basis of tests which identified the specifics each child did not know. Voluminous stocks of work sheets were prepared so that each separate specific learning might be available for the child who needed it. Publishing houses, recognizing a new field, began packaging material keyed to diagnostic tests, in later years occasionally even advertised as teacher-proof materials. The concept of diagnostic teaching has had different interpretations, varying from systematized testing, to the teacher's informal and continuous diagnosis of each child's needs through individual conferences, to the child's self-diagnosis with or without the guidance of the teacher. These interpretations run the whole gamut of the concepts of the nature of the child.

Beginning in the early 1950s, individualized instruction took on new meaning with the developing emphasis on the uniqueness of the individual. Implementation of practices based on these theories was so at odds with current practice and beliefs that progress has been slow and is just now gaining momentum. However, many who believe they are individualizing their programs are actually only dealing with relatively minor aspects of what is implied by these basic beliefs. The importance of the traditional subject matter, the commitment to an essential sequence for learning, and the lack of faith that children who are allowed to make their own decisions will learn are serious hazards to overcome for many.

Some who have taken the step depend on two main beliefs: (a) the positive and dynamic nature of the child who wants to and can learn what is of significance to him and (b) the purposive nature of children. These teachers see their role as providing opportunity and guidance so that children will identify and become aware of their purposes. They then provide opportunity and make resources available so that the child may accomplish his purposes and gain satisfaction from them.

Another problem that individualizing of instruction raises is that of the sequencing of pupil learnings. Traditionally, the point of view has been that children learn in a sequence predetermined by sophisticated adult analysis. Therefore, teachers must control the content of children's learning. As greater understanding of the individuality of the child has developed, teachers are discovering that different children learn best through their own sequencing. Therefore, different patterns of learning are acceptable.

A related instructional procedure, independent study, began at secondary and college levels is now filtering down into the elementary school. When a child finds a topic he wants to know more about, he may go into it in whatever depth he wishes until he is satisfied.

Another procedure for individualizing instruction is the conference, which the child, whenever he feels it would be useful, can arrange with the teacher. During the conference he may report progress, explain what he is doing about his topic of study, designate his next steps as he sees them, and perhaps ask for help or for additional resources. Alternatively, he may simply want to touch base and share his enthusiasm about what he is learning. This procedure is being used to some extent even when the program is not greatly individualized.

A current strong trend has been called *behavioral objectives*, *performance-based evaluation*, *accountability*, and *prescription teaching*. These terms carry different connotations for different people, but as usually presented they are based on beliefs—derived largely from behaviorism—that all useful learning can be identified by objective measures. The measures used now are mainly tests, although other indices of pupil behaviors are increasingly being sought. Practices subsumed under these labels implement the specificity of learning rather than broad understanding and insight into the interrelationships of knowledge. They limit concern to the cognitive aspects of learning, leaving out the affective, which perceptual psychologists feel is most important. In general, the purpose of instruction based on the behaviorist image of man is the development of abilities and behaviors on the part of the child which match the specific competencies and actions which are deemed necessary and good for society.

On the other hand, the image of man as viewed by perceptual psychologists promotes concern with the dignity and worth of each child, the joy of learning, pleasure in creating, and a growing sense of self. For instance, Silberman sees the purpose of the school as not so much to become more efficient as to create and maintain a humane society.[40]

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

Organization for instruction. It is in the area of classroom management that the good-bad nature-of-man dichotomy is most clearly evident. At the beginning of the twentieth century, children usually were seated in rows of desks which were screwed to the floor and they were expected to stay in them until they had been given permission to rise. They were also required to be quiet until given permission to speak. For some children, conditions are not very different today. The most likely change is that the desks are no longer screwed down. The straight rows, however, remain.

What view of the nature of a child developed this restrictive pattern of speaking and moving in the first place? What has maintained it all these years despite major changes in educational theory? Two factors seem highly influential. First was the view of the child as naturally bad, as a being who does not want to learn and who resists what adults want him to do. Ergo, if progress is to be made, he must be firmly controlled. Second, control of children by outside agents—parents, teachers, or others in authority—is also a major factor in behaviorist theory. For instance, Skinner has contended that control of man for the good of society not only is essential but unavoidable. Though he raises a question as to who should do the controlling and to what ends man should be controlled, his answer seems to lie in the contingencies in the environment, which man himself in part contrived, and his natural desire to escape its punitive or aversive features.[41]

Resistance to this insistence on controlling man because of his evil nature has been evident in some form for many centuries. Rousseau, Froebel, and their followers made some headway, but fear of what might happen if children were not kept in check made their points of view difficult to defend. Giving up control necessitates trust and confidence in others—qualities that were difficult to generate because of adults' widespread exposure to being controlled. In turn, children who have not been trusted themselves have difficulty in trusting others.

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[40] Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[41] Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, op. cit.

Perceptual psychologists contend that the tightness of control exercised over children creates a build-up of resentment and frustration. Therefore, if controls are loosened, "explosive" behavior is likely to be an immediate temporary reaction. Their position is that if there had not been such tight control, there would have been no need of the explosion of hostile behavior.

Unfortunately, the kinds of disturbing behavior on the part of some children which results when controls are loosened tend to send teachers scurrying back to the security of the familiar authoritarian rule. Faulty or half-hearted efforts to reduce control often leave them more convinced than ever that children, at least some children, are basically "bad" and that the only way to cope with them is to demand obedience. The increased concern with so-called inner city children who are said to bring unacceptable behavior into schools has strengthened the feeling that the need for authoritarian control is inescapable. However, some teachers who believe firmly in the essential goodness of a child and who accept the importance of his drive for self-realization have been able, with considerable success, to establish a self-directed, comfortable, positive learning situation with such children.

New justification for tight control was provided by Pavlov's conditioned reflex, which suggested that the child was whatever the environment made of him (that is, all direction coming from the outside). Adults readily accept their responsibility to provide firm direction and to "bring up the child in the way he should go." As adults, they feel that they know far better what a child should do than does the child.

Translating this into classroom management, teachers presumably must control the child's behavior. The easiest way to control, it was reasoned, was to prevent all behavior which threatened their control. Moving about the room or talking fell into this category. Also, since each child had been given work to do at his seat, leaving the seat or conversing with a neighbor meant that a breach of discipline had taken place.

In spite of the continuing strength of this view of the child, the general trend over the last three-quarters of a century has been toward alternative beliefs about the nature of the child and a modification of school practices. Many have come to feel that the child is not inherently bad and may even be basically good. How else can we explain the general desire of society for increased good if each of its citizens was born inherently bad? The more positive approach of a number of religious groups brought new respect for man and a greater faith in his basic goodness.

The inner dynamic qualities of man put forth by Leibnitz and extended by Dewey were further supported by men like Maslow, Combs, and Rogers. Their views led to a greater acceptance of the child as purposive, as one who could with guidance set his own goals and work toward them. His dynamics were seen as related to his inner drive toward self-realization.

A better understanding of basic physical needs led first to physical education programs but soon helped teachers realize the child's need for movement within the classroom. Gradually certain activities were legitimized. For example, drinking fountains were put inside many classrooms so children might get a drink when they wished. They were also allowed, under specified conditions, to sharpen pencils or get a piece of paper or a book without special permission.

Particularly since the mid-sixties, with scattered instances occurring earlier, some teachers have developed confidence in the ability of children to engage in constructive self-directed learning which is significant to them. Now, in a number of schools, within the bounds of courtesy and mutual helpfulness, children are free to move at will within the classroom and even between centers within the school. So far, community trust in children rarely has developed to the point where this freedom extends beyond the school boundaries during school hours, unless the group is under the immediate direction of the teacher.

Another development with implications for classroom management is the open classroom. This has been variously described as both physically and psychologically open, sometimes with the two aspects having no particular relationship. The "open" concept suggests that two or more teachers working as a team can be responsible for two or more class-size groups of children either of the same age or within a two to three-year range. In this context, teachers work with various groups for various purposes, and an individual child contacts the teacher of his choice as the need arises (see chapter 9). Such an organization is built on respect for the autonomy of children and for their purposive nature when set free to satisfy their socially acceptable needs.

In many school situations, volunteers and teacher aides have been added to provide more human resources for children. The important question raised here is related to whether the quality of the relationships of the nonprofessionals with children is at an adequate level. Even more serious to some is that the more adults there are with a group of children, the more they do for children which children can and should do for themselves. For those who believe in the importance of building a positive self-concept, self-confidence, and self-direction in children, the adult contact can be a negative experience. However, for those who believe children learn by being directed and controlled, the expansion of the number of adults in the classroom is potentially a very useful contemporary development.

Organization of time. When teachers believed that it was necessary for them to control the learning situation or "children would never do anything," they scheduled the school day very tightly. Believing also that children's attention spans were short, they scheduled work so that it was concentrated within ten-, fifteen-, or twenty-minute periods. During the 1930s, for example, the visitor might find a minute-by-minute schedule for the day posted outside each classroom door. At the very least, such a program was available in the principal's office. However, the development of the project or unit concept of curriculum, which was based on the idea of pupil-purposing, necessitated longer periods devoted to each activity. As a result, looser scheduling was permitted and sometimes encouraged.

Although the emergence of the looser schedule has not been a smooth and unbroken line of development, there are now a significant number of classrooms where there is a minimum of scheduling, providing what is sometimes called the integrated day, as exemplified in the British primary schools. The entire morning might be a work period, with each child, either alone or as a member of an informal temporary small group, working at chosen tasks as long as he finds it useful. Some teachers have been able to weave or incorporate many desired aspects of learning into the ongoing program.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL

At the turn of the century, the elementary school almost invariably was organized on a graded basis with each child expected to spend an academic year in each grade. The many small rural "one-room" schools, which often housed children whose achievement ranged through all eight grades, officially operated on a graded basis, too, though the daily practice was often an informal sharing of activities and lessons among children of several grades.

At this time, all youngsters were expected to master approximately the same skills during the same time period. Since it was their evil nature, their unwillingness to do what they were told, which resulted in inadequate performance, children were routinely "kept back" if they did not complete the expected level of work by the end of any one year. Thus, records from seventy years ago might show a distribution of ages from five to sixteen in a first grade of a city school.

Alfred Binet's work, which identified different intelligence levels and projected differential rates of learning on that basis, was first published in 1905, but for more than a decade it had only slight impact on educational practice. By the middle and late twenties, however, the idea of the constancy of the IQ and its implications had taken effect, and schools had widely adopted a horizontal organization which was often called the X, Y, and Z grouping plan. This approach put the highest IQs in the X group, the lowest in the Z, and the "in-betweens" in Y. Pioneered in Cleveland, it was intended that the X group have the content expanded to match their more rapid rate of learning, while the content could be cut to bare minimum essentials for the Z group. Educators were so mesmerized by the presumed logic of the scheme that the large majority of schools, countrywide, had adopted this plan or some variant by the early thirties.[42] Then, almost as rapidly as it had developed and much more quietly, the XYZ plan was abandoned almost entirely. Most schools found it simply did not work very well and created personal and social problems to which schools were now beginning to pay attention. Also, with the publication of the *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*[43] the constancy of the IQ was seriously questioned.

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[42] For a résumé and description of forty-two grouping schemes, see J. G. Shane et al., *Guiding Human Development* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 383-89.

As school people became more aware of the social development of children and conditions important for encouraging this dimension of human maturity, the whole question of retention—of promotion vs. failure—became an issue. If it was important for children to be with their own age group, then it could be argued that age rather than school achievement should provide the basis for vertical organization. As a result, so-called social promotion was implemented in many places. As with so many other useful ideas, many joined the bandwagon with a minimum of understanding and little or no preparation of the lay public for the new policy. Small wonder that so much antagonism was created. The result, however, was a more reasonable progress through the grades than either the strict standard or promotion solely by age had provided.

No matter what beliefs are held about the nature of the child, the observed differential progress in learning causes many problems in the school setting. Throughout most of educational history, attempts have been made to solve these real or fancied problems by means of organizational changes. A variety of such plans has been and is being tried: grouping by ability within a classroom, as grouping by progress in reading; the Joplin plan of ability grouping between classrooms for reading; and a plan that misinterprets nongrading or continuous progress,[44] assigning children to classrooms on the basis of achievement tests on a supposedly flexible basis, though in practice few adjustments are made. All of these plans are based on the belief that the rate of progress of each child is not only predictable but can be reliably determined in advance, perhaps upon entry to school, but at least as he moves from one grade to another. It also assumes that children of similar ability and/or achievement learn better when clustered together than when intermixed with children of different ability levels. There is considerable feeling on the part of some educators that this rationale is not the real reason for ability grouping. Rather, it is the difficulty teachers face in working effectively with a group where there is a wide range of human differences.

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[43] *Nature and Nurture: Their Influence upon Intelligence* (Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Parts 1 and 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

[44] True nongrading or continuous progress is an individualized program which takes a heterogeneous, often multiage, group of children and encourages and assists each to develop at his own rate through his own learning sequence without grade label.

A recent form of organization which has gained wide attention, if not large-scale implementation, reverses the recent trends. Called multiage grouping, it brings together a heterogeneous group of say, six-, seven-, and eight-year-olds either in a classroom or in a large open situation where they may work with several teachers. Based on the individualized instruction concept, it is yet another attempt to deal with the wide range of differences in children's learning. Temporary small groups are formed for learnings specifically needed *at the time by those children.* Other groups may be established, such as friendship groups, in which children, even those working at quite different levels, may find it profitable to work together and to help each other learn and accomplish shared purposes. This plan is more truly *nongrading* and *continuous progress.*

Future Trends

The rate of change is increasing so rapidly that predictions of the future are more and more difficult. Even attitudes and beliefs which once persisted throughout a lifetime are now modified or even reversed within the period of a very few years. The rapid fluctuation of opinion on abortion laws is an example.

At this point in history there are strong movements in opposing directions which are based on man's image of man and how he can be understood and on beliefs about the situations which enable him to develop most fully and most fruitfully. On the one hand, decision-makers are enlarging their techniques and potential for influencing man without his consent and in directions that may or may not be desirable. The communications and computer industries give promise of becoming monsters with a few masters deciding what is to be communicated, leaving man at the mercy of the controllers. Even with benevolent intentions, such a development is based on the idea that it is necessary to control the evil impulses of man or on the belief that "if I tell them, they will know what to do." Most programmed learning and learning packages belong in this category, and makers of both the hardware and software see no end to highly profitable possibilities. When accountability and behavioral objectives take on the format of predetermined goals measured by "objective" devices such as tests of specific behaviors, man's nature is seen as nonindividualistic and lacking in uniqueness. Learning is seen as what is produced in a child by outside agents with its extent determined by these agents. Learning becomes an accumulation in predetermined sequence of many specifics.

The opposite visible trend is toward increasing recognition of the individuality and uniqueness of man, not just in abilities and accomplishments, but in every aspect of his being. People of this persuasion believe that children differ, for instance, in ways and sequences of learning, in interests and concerns, in needs and ways of expressing them, in timing, and in self-awareness, self-confidence, and self-acceptance. They see all these as legitimate and as factors which will influence the self-direction and self-realization of the child. They see the child as operating on broad and basic understandings which he may have been aided in putting together or which he may have perceived on his own as he thought through his experiences, considered interrelationships, and made predictions on this basis. In this view, it is necessary that the child, on his own or with help, look ahead and establish his own purposes as a basis for his self-directed learning.

Proponents of the two opposing positions will undoubtedly remain active. It is to be hoped that the most valid and useful aspects of both persist. For instance, if technology can make available a multitude of resources of various kinds which can be used by individuals according to their needs and desires, the competence and understanding of whole populations can be immeasurably enhanced.

Further, it may be hoped that those dedicated to the self-direction of the individual will take into account the need for a transition period for those who have lived under authoritarian situations before they can successfully become independent learners. It is perhaps even more important to recognize the essential interrelationship of freedom and responsibility.

The problem of control is the most controversial in the world at large as well as in the classroom. Laissez-faire is rejected in both situations. If there is to be control, however, where is it to lie? The world trend has been in the direction of rejecting authoritarian rule by kings and dictators, and all over the globe societies are becoming more restive under this type of rule at lower levels.

Self-control is the other alternative and basically this is what democracy is all about. Democracy is not simply individualism, not just monitoring one's own behavior, but since civilization occurs in a social context, democracy depends on groups deciding together how they wish to live together. There is already much of this in evidence both formally and informally, but unfortunately it has been more hindered than helped by the schools. Since classrooms in the large majority of situations have been a stronghold of authoritarianism, most of our citizens have grown up expecting someone else to make decisions for them. The school has done little to instill confidence in the individual that he is able to make viable decisions for himself. All this is beginning to change, however, and all people, including the young, are starting to demand their rights. As evidence, boys who wish to change the cut of their hair are confronting the little "czars" who want the right to make personal decisions based on their own personal biases for those under their control. The "long-hairs' " fight for their right to make their own decisions has become a *cause celebre*. As increasing numbers of people feel the implicit lack of respect for individuality and as the few cling to their power over the many, there will be increased demand for individual rights and resistance to the type of authority which degrades its subject.

We can assume with some assurance certain directions society will take in the future, such as towards greater diversity, increased technology which will take over routine mechanical tasks, leaving to man those that require judgment and more or less continuous decision-making and leadership. The implications here are many.

As to the matter of diversity, Gruen found that in eleven of seventeen core culture content areas "the great majority of teachers preferred anticore culture values for their students" and that "teachers over 50 years old tended to choose core culture values more often than teachers in their 20's and 30's."[45] Particularly among the affluent educated group, he sees consensus as giving way to what he calls "pockets of values." Toffler suggests that we can expect as the number and variety of subcults continue to expand, these pockets to proliferate. Obviously, as these diverse values develop, more options will be needed for schooling as well as for all other aspects of living.[46]

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[45] Walter Gruen, "Composition and Some Correlates of American Core Culture." *Psychological Reports*, vol. 18, pp. 485-86.

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[46] Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 270.

CHAPTER VII

Sources of School Practice

ARTHUR W. FOSHAY

Any large social institution is an amalgam of what it has been, what it is, and what some people hope it will become. Thus, to the discerning eye, the elementary school can be seen as a kind of museum of past and present influences on practices. We shall consider here a number of typical elementary school practices, with special attention devoted to their sources.

There appear to be four main sources for elementary school practice:

1. The cultural-political-theological context of the schools
2. A combination of traditional, ritualistic customs, some of which arise from common sense, some from unexamined beliefs
3. Implicit beliefs and theories concerning the child and his learning
4. Explicit learning theories

Practices arising from explicit learning theories are probably of greatest interest to the readers of this yearbook, but it is to be understood at once that of all the influences on school practice, explicit learning theories are the most recent and the weakest. Most of what is done in school, day by day, arises from other sources, except as a theory of learning is implicit in a practice as it happens to have developed.

The remainder of this chapter will offer examples to illustrate the impact that all of these sources of school practice have had on the schools in the United States, both past and present.

The School's Cultural-Political-Theological Context

The elementary schools, in their own way, always have responded to the context in which they existed. The context has been at various times theological, political, and, in some sense, psychological. That the schools have been expressions of their own cultures is virtually a truism.

The elementary school as we know it has its roots in the Renaissance. Its ultimate base is in the Church; its original purpose was to put the common people on the path to salvation. Superimposed on this original purpose was another—that the school was to introduce men to the arts of gentility; that the schools, in many instances, existed to produce a courtier.[1] In the United States, yet another purpose was superimposed on the others: the making of citizens for the American democracy. That was Jefferson's purpose and it, together with the other two, guided the policies of American elementary education throughout the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century yet another purpose became explicit: the provision of manpower for the economy. During two generations of the present century, the elementary school came to reflect the progressive movement abroad in the larger society.[2]

The context of the elementary school in the early history of the United States was in the main theological. American children were taught in the *New England Primer* that they lived under "God's wrath and curse," that "in Adam's fall we sinned all," and other warnings. The elementary school existed to wean children from evil and show them the paths of righteousness (see chapter 6). It was left to the eighteenth century to promote the ideal of the rational man. However, the American common school of the late eighteenth century was as much a museum piece in its time as the contemporary school is in ours. The *New England Primer*, basically a theological document, was the most widely used means of instruction for literacy. The rational eighteenth-century man was to be molded by theological studies, though the rational elite had largely rejected the seventeenth-century theology.

The political context within which elementary education has functioned in the United States appeared with the founding of the Republic. Although education for ordinary people was a seventeenth-century invention, the idea that the general public should be literate began to emerge only during the eighteenth century. Put succinctly, it was argued by Jefferson and others that literacy was essential for the common people in order that they become responsible citizens. If the governance of the country was to be responsive to the people of the country, the people had to be able at least to read the laws, and at best to understand the philosophy behind the laws. It is important to remember that the founders of the American republic, including Jefferson, were true products of the eighteenth century—of the Enlightenment. As such, they believed that man is basically a rational creature and that everything nonrational is to be distrusted. This included emotion (they would have called it "passion"), myth, superstition, ritual, and almost all those elements that a contemporary anthropologist would include in the word *culture*. Their late eighteenth-century "citizen," therefore, was to be a rational man. But to be rational meant to be literate. Hence their espousal of the common school.

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[1] We shall not elaborate on these generalizations here. They can be verified through consulting Montaigne, *Of the Institution and Education of Children*; Castiglione's *Courtier*; Milton, *On Education*; and especially the *New England Primer*.

[2] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961).

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century schools, receiving increasing numbers of children, reflected and still reflect the industrial and postindustrial contexts of their times. Organization has been the favorite remedy offered by reformers; productivity constantly has been proposed as the way to measure the school's success. The public schools, therefore, were pressed most often into the factory model which served as a model for productivity. Independent and private schools were not. The parochial schools, until fairly recently, more or less followed the earlier theological model with an increasing overlay of the public factory model.

We have not yet fully estimated the transformation in the national spirit brought about by the violence and upheaval of the 1960s. One of the things attacked was the factory model for schools. Surely we are entering into a period in which the school must face the necessity of preparing students for a valid private existence which will interact with the needs for a valid social existence. However, just as surely as the late eighteenth-century American common school sought to bring about a new citizen using seventeenth-century concepts, our late twentieth-century schools will act in terms of the factory model in attempting to produce twenty-first-century man.

Beliefs and Customs Influencing the School

TRADITION

Implicit in all these views of the functions of the school which have been produced by our varying historical contexts is the belief that the school should show the way. Each view, essentially unmodified, continues to operate on curriculum policy now. The theological tradition tells us that we should tell the revealed Truth. The Renaissance tradition asks the schools to raise up gentlemen. Our American tradition demands that we prepare good citizens; it also promotes an "economic man."

Perhaps the best way to grasp the meaning of our tradition is to see the school as dealing with truth. The teacher is a truth-teller. He deals with that which is certainly true—with certainty, not doubt. The school should deal with the facts of the world and of life, not the uncertainties.

> Now, what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts; nothing else will ever be of service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to the Facts, Sir! [3]

Moreover, each of these historical contexts has demanded that life should be presented as if, through diligence and probity, it can be lived with honor, gentility, and (perhaps now only implicit) the promise of a better life to come.

The notion that the school should deal with ideas always has had to struggle against the tradition that the school should deal with certainty. Since the Greeks, certainty has been associated with that which is formal and essentially superficial about learning. The school of rhetoric had to contend with the academy in ancient times, and the school of rhetoric by and large won out. During the medieval period people studied the book, for in the book lay that which was certainly true. Our reliance on textbooks grows directly from this tradition, as does the word *textbook* itself. A book of texts would, of course, be a book of Truth. The whole idea that one should read a book critically, interacting with the

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3. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times.*

author and asking that he prove what he has written, may be a response to the cultural and political context of today which strives to promote the rational, probing man, but it flies in the face of long ingrained tradition derived from earlier views.

It is in part because of this long-standing tradition of certainty that we reduce writing to grammar, reading to word-calling and vocabulary, mathematics to computation, and geography to place names and map reading. These things are certainly true, all being man-made. The truth we have taught has been the truth of the rules of the game when applied to secular subject matter. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that children simply ask us what the rules are, so that they may conform. It should not be surprising also if, later, some of them rebel against this kind of game.

Teacher-centered instruction also arises from this tradition. If the main task for students is to learn the rules of the game, then the one who knows the rules ought to both exemplify them and make them clear. The current proposal that the school be learner-centered will be difficult to implement in the schools, given the power of this tradition. The teacher is the center of the classroom by right of tradition—a tradition which, being deep-rooted, can be expected to resist such a change. It is not surprising, therefore, that many children learn to value or not to value subject matter according to whether they like or do not like the teacher.

Concomitant with this view of the teacher as central "truth-teller," there are certain things that teachers are required to do and certain things that they must never do. Teachers, generally speaking, are expected to act according to a norm that has arisen over a long period of time in which they are to be "models of propriety." Until fairly recently, young women teachers could not carry on a normal heterosexual life without criticism. In some small towns, they were forbidden to leave the community on weekends, lest they somehow violate the code. Even with the somewhat relaxed moral code of the present day, it would be seriously improper for a teacher ever to use vulgar language in class or to suggest that he had ever violated any part of the moral code. The traditional teacher role portrays a model of propriety that very few people in fact live up to.

It is interesting that the tradition of managing students in groups arose at the very moment when *hoi polloi* entered formal education. Royalty and the aristocracy rarely went to school—they had tutors. Our notion that the smaller a class, the better the quality of instruction, arises from this early practice. The argument for small class size is raised on every hand, though there is no evidence to support that requirement for a high level of achievement.

Similarly, the tradition that students should do the same things at the same times arises from the notion of Truth as the mission of the school. If there is one and only one true road, then clearly the common people should be herded into it. Our recent calls for flexible scheduling and a large amount of individual enterprise on the part of students fly in the face of this tradition of management. The broader public does not trust such changes because a school modified by them does not "look like a school."

Because of both the tradition that the school is a place of "truth" and that the school's function is to raise up gentlemen, children are expected by and large to dress in a "respectable" manner when they come to school. The details of what constitutes respectability differ, of course, from one place to another and from one social class to another. However, teachers respond to children more favorably when they are dressed according to the middle-class norm. There is also an assumption that one acts as one dresses, and, therefore, the better children are dressed, the better they will act. An important reflection of the "courtier" tradition is that the school's function is seen to be that of bringing the children from the lower classes into the middle classes and children from the middle classes into the upper classes. Since the most obvious aspect of gentility is dress, one has to dress like a gentleman or a lady. In recent years, though, dress codes have crumbled. The endless, comic quarrels in boards of education over dress codes at the adolescent and post-adolescent period arise from a failure to recognize either the nature or the power of tradition.

School furnishings provide an interesting reflection of the traditions within which the school operates. If students are to be receptors of the Truth from the teacher, it is obviously more efficient to have them fixed in place so that they will be ready to receive the wisdom offered them. Therefore, the desks and chairs ought to be bolted to the floor. This was the mode that prevailed in most classrooms in the United States until about 1930, when the Progressive movement decreed that movable tables and chairs should replace the old bolted-down desks in order to create a more flexible classroom environment. There is an obvious shift here from the tradition which dictated that the teacher should be the center of the classroom.

RITUAL

Much of what goes on in our schools today is based on conditions which have long since disappeared or given way to new requirements. Though these practices were once a useful means of reacting to social or environmental needs, their persistence in today's schools can only be seen as the acting out of rituals. Many of these educational rituals are concerned with scheduling.

The most notorious and persistent of our rituals is, of course, the calendar of the school year. The need of an agrarian society to have its children help in the fields during the growing and harvesting seasons led to the familiar nine-months-on, three-months-off school year. Today, only 6 percent of the families in the United States live on farms, and it is likely that only a small number of the children on these farms actually are required for summer labor. Certainly an urban, mechanized society has no such need for child labor on the farms, and yet the farm-inspired school year pattern persists. We used to rationalize this by saying that the children need a rest from school (and perhaps they did, considering the unnatural constraints that schools often put upon children). Even that rationalization, however, has largely disappeared in recent times.

Time off within the school year also follows a ritual pattern. In a theological context, when the function of the school was to bring children into the Way, it was appropriate that the principal religious feast days be celebrated by the children at church. That is, school should stop when it was time for worship.

The traditional length and timing of the school day is another ritual which is still often followed even though its original justification largely has disappeared. The school day was scheduled so that children could complete the early morning chores on the farm before they went to school and do the afternoon chores when they returned from school. The school day and the school year are remnants of a past in which they bore some relationship to beliefs and realities. Now they are little more than rituals. They are, however, no less powerful for being so.

School bells have a similar ritualistic origin. The ringing bell is probably the single most representative symbol of school. While once it might have been necessary to ring a handheld bell to let everyone know that it was time to begin school, to recess, or to go to lunch, today clocks are a commonplace in every classroom. There is at present, then, no reason for ringing bells during the day as a time-telling device. In many schools, however, the daily program is still governed by bells.

It must be recognized, of course, that the very existence of institutions, including the schools, depends heavily on tradition and ritual which tend to reinforce certain activities thought to be necessary. In times of rapid change, rituals take on special significance, sometimes simply to maintain continuity when the institution itself is being threatened.

Implicit Beliefs About the Child and How He Learns

It is easy to forget that until roughly sixty years ago, the essential quality of educability was taken to be the memory. If, as was pointed out above, the central purpose of the school was to convey the Truth, one need only memorize it and repeat it to the teacher. During most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, psychologists were concerned with memory as a basic intellectual faculty.

However, until the present, most school practices were based not on theories of how children learn, but on implicit beliefs about the nature of man. In the theological context of the early history of this country, it was believed that the mind and the body are at perpetual war with one another. This belief drew support from the philosophy of Aquinas and dominated the entire tradition of popular psychology from his century until (nearly) ours. On the one hand, there was intellect. On the other hand, there were the passions. On the one hand, there was the soul; on the other hand, there was the body. The body was the temporary house for the soul, which is eternal. The implicit theory of learning bound up in this tradition assumes that what is important takes place when teachers tell students the Truth, which is eternal. That which is less important can be carried on by others than the teacher, or by the child himself.

Many of us still believe that the most serious education goes on in the classroom, interrupted by periods when the child "lets off steam." Thus, the elementary school day is often arranged on a declining plane: first language, then a recess; next, mathematics, followed by another recess; then, the social studies, followed by lunch and a long rest. The afternoon is given over to the passions—perhaps more social studies, the arts, a recess, and (oh, irony!) in the late afternoon, science, which masquerades as nature study in most schools most of the time. The mind is to be cultivated while the body is fresh and unfatigued. As fatigue sets in, we deal more and more with those subjects that are considered less intellectual and more "recreational."

Another implicit theory of learning which has guided school practice is the notion of attention span. Most teachers believe that most elementary children should not be kept at a single task more than twenty minutes. This grows out of hard experience: if one keeps all the children doing the same thing and that thing is basically to memorize, then at the end of about twenty minutes the class will become disorderly enough to require that the activity be changed. In the degree that attention span has been studied, it has been found to vary enormously according to the child and the task. But the implicit belief in an absolute attention span continues to govern our scheduling of activities. The familiar forty- or fifty-minute period of study carried on in elementary schools, as well as in secondary schools, arises directly from this belief.

Various other school practices find their source in these implicit theories about the nature of children and how they learn. Corporal punishment is one and, although the amount of actual punishment of children has greatly diminished during the past hundred years, some form of corporal punishment still is found in many schools. A hundred years ago, one punished the excesses of the body because the body was viewed as somehow corrupting the processes of the mind. One had to "whip the boys into shape." If one believes that all children are born under the shadow of original sin, then they must clearly be brought into God's way. One way to do this is to whip the Devil out of them. We will not enter here into a discussion of the sexual implications of corporal punishment, though there can be no question that flagellation is a sexual act.

In most schools now, punishment is carried on by verbal means, not by corporal means. Sometimes, such verbal punishment is even called "counseling." Such counseling is a surrogate for corporal punishment and nothing more. Children are scolded, prodded, lectured, and in general ordered to conform. Though the middle-class form of punishment is indeed verbal rather than corporal, its essential meaning remains the same. In the degree that it arises from any theory, it still proceeds on the assumption that children are imperfect and must be perfected through restraints.

At the elementary school level there is something of a theory of instruction bearing upon physical education, but it has been lost in most schools in the mind-body dichotomy. The practice in most elementary schools, whatever the educational or curriculum theory may be, is that children are released from mental work in order to indulge their physical selves from time to time for brief periods. In spite of the efforts of physical educators for a generation or more, there is no curriculum of physical education that is in fact carried out in most elementary schools. We continue to separate the mind from the body and to indulge the body for ten minutes each hour and for a half hour to forty minutes in recesses sometime during the day. The relationship between physical education and the rest of education remains to be developed.

Explicit Theories of Learning

Only since the late nineteenth century have there been explicit theories of learning that have been heard by those who operate the schools, construct curricula, and teach. One finds very little reference to such theories in professional literature before the turn of the century. Here we shall consider, briefly and incompletely, some of the most widely understood generalizations about learning, with our attention devoted to aspects of elementary school practice they seem to have affected. In a few instances, we shall notice the inconsistency between practice and theory. There are also cases in which certain practices are implied by theory but do not exist.

Before beginning, however, it is important to recognize that the development of theories of learning has gone on in its own terms, not in school terms. The principal purpose of investigations in learning theory has been to produce good theory, not to experiment directly with school practice. Therefore, much of the discussion of learning theory has to do with fairly minute discriminations within the theory itself and the correction of its logic. The generalizations we have included here are themselves the objects of criticism and are in some sense controversial. They are to be understood not as authoritative pronouncements by learning theorists, but rather as attempts to state in practitioner's terms some of the ideas now affecting practice or that can now be applied.

MEMORY

It was mentioned above that about the only theory of learning operating in the schools before the twentieth century was that of the dominant place of the memory in any learning which took place. Modern study of memory begins with Ebbinghaus (1850-1909), who worked in Germany during the 1880s. His work appeared in translation in the United States in 1913.[4]

Many contemporary elementary school practices and materials derive directly from Ebbinghaus's work. Some of his findings apparently were accidental.

> What number of syllables can be correctly recited after only one reading? For me the number is usually 7. Indeed I have often succeeded in reproducing 8 syllables, but this has happened only at the beginning of the tests and in a decided minority of cases. In the case of 6 syllables, on the other hand, a mistake almost never occurs; with them, therefore, a single attentive reading involves an unnecessarily large expenditure of energy for an immediately following reproduction.[5]

Perhaps Ebbinghaus's experiment, with an N of one, himself, underlies the fact that our telephone numbers have seven digits in them. An even more entertaining possibility arises from the following quotation from the same source:

> In order to keep in mind the similarities and differences between sense and nonsense material, I occasionally made tests with the English original of Byron's *Don Juan* . . . it is interesting to mention the number of repetitions necessary . . . There are only seven texts (1884) to be considered, each of which comprises 6 stanzas. When the latter, each by itself, were learned to the point of first possible reproduction, an

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[4] Hermann Ebbinghaus, *Memory: A Contribution to Experimental Psychology* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1913).

[5] Ibid., pp. 46-48, "Length of Lists." Quoted in William S. Sahakian, ed., *History of Psychology* (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, Publishers, 1968), p. 132.

> average of 52 repetitions . . . was necessary for all 6 taken together. Thus, each stanza required hardly 9 repetitions, or, if the errorless reproduction is abstracted, scarcely 8 repetitions. . . . When the syllables are objectively and subjectively united by the ties (of meaning, rhythm, rhyme, and a common language) this requirement was in my case reduced to about 1/10th of that amount.[6]

Here we have an interesting correspondence with a belief widely held approximately fifty years later: that it takes approximately fifty-three repetitions of a word to "stamp it in" on a child's memory.

Another generalization, arising from Ebbinghaus's experiments with his own memory, that words imbedded in "meaningful material" will be more readily retained than those imbedded in meaningless material, has been widely adopted by instructional materials since early in this century. Ebbinghaus also found that "the longer a person studies, the longer he retains"; he demonstrated the effects of overlearning and developed the curve of retention, according to which forgetting proceeds rapidly at first, then slows down. His work was astonishingly original in its time and has been much celebrated since.

Theories concerning remembering and forgetting have been much elaborated since his time. However, for our purposes, the elaborations play only a small part in what actually occurs in school. The role of set, for example, is real when students prepare for a lesson, since they want to know whether there is to be a test and, if so, of what type. But teachers use this knowledge only intuitively, if at all. Most of what is deliberately used of the theories concerning memory and forgetting occurs in workbooks, which are often organized to take advantage of Ebbinghaus's early work, if not of subsequent theoretical developments.

The practice of drill rests entirely on theories of memory. To drill on something is of course to "stamp it in." The workbooks published after about 1930 took advantage of what had been established concerning memory: that meaningful units or lists are more easily remembered than random ones; that material to be memorized should be presented as wholes rather than parts; that material presented for memorizing should contain within itself some diagnostic device, so that what is difficult may be separated by the learner from what is easy.

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[6] Ebbinghaus, op. cit., pp. 50-51, quoted in Sahakian, op. cit., p. 133.

REINFORCEMENT

The most important of the learning theories is obviously that of reinforcement, which grows out of Pavlov's classical work, modified and elaborated by Thorndike and later by Skinner, among others. One commonly accepted formulation is that "a learnable response followed by a reinforcing event (stimulus, state of affairs) will receive an increment in its strength or probability of occurrence."[7] Another formulation of the same generalization is: "A reinforcer can be used to increase the probability of *any* learnable response."[8]

Clearly, the idea of reinforcement is the most potent of all those familiar to educationists. Reinforcement can be positive or negative. Put simply, the idea is that we tend to repeat what we find pleasing or satisfying and to avoid what we find displeasing, unsatisfying, painful, or frustrating.

The most direct application of this idea is in programmed instruction. Programmed instruction takes full advantage of the basic generalization and of one of its corallaries: that the closer the consequences of an act to the act itself, the stronger the link between the two. It takes advantage of another part of the array of ideas that has built around reinforcement: that positive reinforcement directs behavior, or shapes it, and that negative reinforcement only blocks it. Positive reinforcement, therefore, shapes subsequent behavior in a way that negative reinforcement cannot. Unfortunately, perhaps because of its failure to take into account either traditional elements of the school or elements of common sense (the lore and conventional wisdom of teaching), programmed instruction has found its way principally into those areas of the curriculum, such as arithmtic and grammar, previously characterized by extensive drill.

A large number of school practices may be examined from the perspective of theories of reinforcement. Consider the issuing of school marks, for example. A high mark reinforces what has led up to it; a low mark produces an aversive response. The fact that some youngsters tend to receive high marks repeatedly and that other youngsters tend to receive low marks repeatedly corroborates something teachers have noticed for generations: that failure breeds failure and success breeds success.

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[7] Ernest R. Hilgard and Gordon H. Bower, *Theories of Learning*, 3d ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 482.

[8] Ibid.

In spite of theories about the efficacy of positive reinforcement and the dubious value of negative reinforcement, the list of negative reinforcements in school is very long. Withholding the teacher's approval, ignoring a child, failing to treat him as an individual—all of these are negatively reinforcing and tend finally to bring about a generalized aversion to school. Yet they are inflicted regularly.

Children observe teachers' reinforcing behavior very closely, indeed. In a study the writer was involved in during the early fifties, 59 percent of the children's responses to the item, "Things That Make Me Feel Important," had to do with forms of teacher approval. Thirty-four percent of them were in the category "getting high marks"; 10 percent were "help the teacher"; 6 percent were "class chores"; 4 percent were "the teacher calls on me"; 3 percent were "be nice to the teacher" or "obey the teacher"; and 2 percent were "be chairman."[9]

WE LEARN OUR RESPONSES

It was established fairly early in modern learning theory that anyone, or any animal, learns what he does—he learns his response. The idea was revolutionary in its implications, for it finally disposed of the concept of the learner as a cup to be filled with knowledge—a passive receptor. Yet teachers continue to lecture students, paying little attention to the response they seek. Even in the most unconventional "open" classroom, one hears a teacher repeating back to a child what the child has just said, as if to verify it. The child has already responded. The teacher responds again. Who is learning what?

With the publication of Kilpatrick's *Project Method*, a whole array of ways of organizing subject matter appeared. Most prominent among them were procedures called the *project method*, after Kilpatrick's book, and those that emerged a bit later called the *unit of work*. These grew from a principle of learning psychology established during the first two decades of this century: that learning is reacting. Kilpatrick drummed into his students the idea: "You learn your response. Your response is what you learn, and it is all you learn." Learning is reacting. There is no such thing as passive learning, strictly speaking. Accordingly, one would seek to produce a rich variety of responses to any given stimulus situation, assuming that a variety of responses is what is desired. Moreover, responses generated by the learner would be more nearly his own than would those that were in some sense dictated by a teacher. A whole generation of units of work grew out of this principle. The famous units of work published by the Lincoln School of Teachers College, for example, once highly influential on a nationwide basis, stemmed from Kilpatrick's explanations of what he perceived, to a considerable degree erroneously, to be Dewey's ideas. This movement had a profound influence on the social studies program in the elementary school.

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[9] Arthur W. Foshay and Kenneth D. Wann, *Children's Social Values: An Action Research Study* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1954), p. 148.

The idea that learning is reacting led Kilpatrick to propose the project curriculum and to the writing of *Experiment with a Project Curriculum* by Collings.[10] It led later to the development of the "unit of work," central to the practice of Progressive education, and has had a profound influence on the design of the elementary school curriculum, especially in the social studies, to this day. Books and other materials continue to be organized into units which stress independent activity by the learners; the idea has spread abroad and has recently been reimported as the British infant school movement.

WHOLE VERSUS PART LEARNING

"Whether learning takes place most efficiently when attention is given to the whole task to be learned, or when the task is broken down into its elements, each of which is to be learned separately, is an issue that permeates all education."[11] From the theorist's point of view, the major concepts are embraced by gestalt or field theory. In general, the evidence supports the conclusion that learning takes place most efficiently when the parts are differentiated from a known whole—that it is best to begin any learning task with an "overview" of it, followed if necessary by an analysis of the whole into natural parts but with constant reference from part to whole.

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[10] Ellsworth Collings, *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).

[11] Percival M. Symonds, *What Education Has to Learn from Psychology*, 3d ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), p. 49.

Much has been made of this generalization, but a surprising degree of controversy surrounds it. Most units of work begin with an overview; for example, most college professors begin a new course with a sketch of what it will deal with as a whole. However, when what is to be learned is thought of as a skill, teachers very often proceed with the parts, in the absence of some picture of what finished performance would look like.

The controversy over phonics versus whole-word and whole-phrase methods for the teaching of reading can be understood as arising from the whole-part problem. Those who support the contending positions often do not realize the theoretical position from which they speak, but the evidence continues to support the proposition that the movement from whole to part is more efficient for most children. Among children of less than normal ability, however, the part-whole procedure sometimes is found to be more effective.

In the elementary schools as they exist now, the problem appears whenever a subject area is considered as a set of skills to be mastered. The skills need not be considered as parts, but they often are. As parts, they are "true" (see the earlier discussion of Truth) and are appealing because they conform with that important aspect of the school's tradition. As parts, they are easy to evaluate and thus can be known to exist in the learner's repertoire or not to exist in it. Hence our tendency to reduce as much learning as possible to such skills: geography becomes place names and maps to be read; history becomes dates and events; writing becomes grammar and spelling; reading becomes vocabulary enrichment; mathematics becomes computation; and so on. As a subculture, the elementary school is most true to itself and its tradition when it teaches skills which are certainly true, and this kind of truth is easiest to discover when we undertake part-whole learning.

If we were to take the whole-part controversy seriously and were to act in conformity with the findings, we would invent some new practices. For example, when children enter school for the first time, they would be given an overview of schooling, with indications of what they would be able to do when they completed it. Such overviews would be repeated often enough to insure that the child would have a vision of the whole always before him. We would undertake overviews of each of the principal subjects or areas of school learning—overviews we do not now offer in mathematics, language arts, social studies, science, and the arts. We would also present overviews in other areas of school learning: social learnings, personal care, emotional growth, physical growth. Some new practices obviously are called for by this generalization.

MOTIVATION

To be motivated is to be purposeful. Whether a given student's purpose is relevant or irrelevant to the task the teacher hopes he will learn to perform is one of the continuing perplexities of teaching. The extensive discussion of purposefulness since early in this century arises from the theoretical discussions of motive. All kinds of notions have grown up around the term; as a practitioner, one hears of the "carrot and stick," of disequilibrium (Dewey's term), of need reduction, tension reduction, and so on. One often quoted formulation of the learning process is that of Miller and Dollard:

1. Drive: The student must want something.
2. Cue: The student must notice something.
3. Response: The student must do something.
4. Reward: The student must get something he wants.[12]

The Miller-Dollard model places motivation at the center of things; the student must want something, and he must finally get what he wants.

Discussion of motivation in education has been dominated by the question of whether the learner's goal is intrinsic to the task or extrinsic to it. Generally, educationists agree that the accomplishment of the task ought to be sufficient as a goal, but in practice all sorts of extrinsic goals have been created: gold stars, grades, recognition, public praise, the avoidance of ridicule, or of retention in a grade of school. Perhaps the consensus on the desirability of intrinsic or task-related motivation needs to be questioned.

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[12] N. E. Miller and J. Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941). Quoted in Hilgard and Bower, op. cit., p. 569.

When a child completes a task or masters something, he wants to show off his achievement. Ultimately, as is pointed out by some psychiatrists, he wants to show it off to his mother. The teacher, as a mother surrogate, becomes the one to whom he shows it. Teachers unwittingly have beeen playing this role from the beginning. One also seeks approval from one's peers, however, and thus the social reinforcement of the classroom group is exploited.

The discussion of theory among the educationists has not taken social reinforcement into account. Instead of recognizing the conceivably legitimate place of external motivation, we have talked as if it had no proper place. Hence the discontinuity between our expressed theory and our actual practice.

In these circumstances, what is to be said of extrinsic and intrinsic motives to learn? It would seem that both function in the normal classroom; hopefully, the task is intrinsically satisfying to accomplish, and the teacher and other class members offer social reinforcement. Given this view, accomplishment of school tasks can be doubly rewarding.

TRANSFER AND FORMAL DISCIPLINE

There was a time when the stated purpose for studying certain school subjects was that they would discipline the mind. Translated into operations, this meant that the abilities learned in one situation would transfer to another. After Thorndike's early work[13] it became clear that such transfer of training takes place only when the elements of the first task are similar to or identical with the elements of the second. In other words, to learn English, study English, not Latin, since the transfer from one discipline to the other is relatively small.

The notion of the transfer of training remains in the elementary school chiefly in the teaching of skills. It frequently is still assumed that one will learn to write well if one studies grammar. Therefore, the time given to direct practice in writing remains rather small in comparison with the time devoted to drill in grammatical skills. The relationship between reading skills and the demands of differing reading contents remains largely unexamined in the schools, though there is a growing body of research on the topic. We continue, however, to act as if reading were a transferable skill, unmodified by what is being read. For a long time we took Dewey's concept of the complete act of thought, or the method of intelligence, as if it were a transferable skill and the subject matter of thought only a means for learning it. Recently, we have been brought back to the realization that different disciplines have their own unique logics and modes of inquiry and that therefore the method of pursuing one field is not necessarily generalizable to another.

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[13] E. L. Thorndike and R. S. Woodworth, "The Influence of Improvement in One Mental Function upon the Efficiency of Other Functions," *Psychological Review* 8 (1901): 247-61, 384-95, 553-64.

ASSOCIATION

One of the oldest topics among learning theorists is association: how does one event become connected with another? The question had a long and active life during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; it underlay the inquiries into memory, already discussed above. It was, perhaps, the very first question about learning raised by those who thought systematically about the problem.

In recent times the concept of association among events has been explained through reinforcement theory; events become associated through some kind of feedback from the consequence of an act to the act itself and thus influence its next occurrence.

Another use of the concept of "association" that has been of interest to the educationist derives from its implications for the formation of attitudes and values. Attitudes may spread from one object, event, course of action, or symbol to another. Those who prepare advertising have known this for a long time. A certain cereal is promoted as the breakfast of champions; cigarettes are advertised within the context of the good life outdoors.

It is surprising how little use has been made of attitudinal association among educationists. While teachers sometimes appeal to the drive toward maturity as a reason for carrying on school work, they also accidentally create bad associations between school learning and other aspects of life. New practices could easily be created here: learning could be associated with one's friends, with success in the near future (not merely later in life), with increased autonomy, with a better understanding and appreciation of one's self. Very little of this is done consciously, though it is observable as part of what is usually called "the art of teaching."

Some Typical Elementary School Practices and Their Sources

It should be evident by now that the school does not evolve mainly from learning theory. It grows from itself as an institution and as a subculture. In this it does not differ from other cultural movements and institutions. The same thing is true in each of the arts. Debussy's "Imagism" did not grow from the Imagist movement among the poets of the nineteenth century; it grew from a contemplation of the earlier nineteenth-century and eighteenth-century musical tradition. Wagner did not "grow" from Byron, though he read him; he more nearly grew from Liszt and Verdi. Each of our contemporary institutions has its own tradition and its own roots, and so it is with the schools. Learning theory, sociological theory, and economic theory play upon all our institutions. But the school is not a product of any one of these; it is more a product of itself.

We turn from the proposition that the school is a subculture to a consideration of a number of school practices that characterize the elementary school as it exists in most communities. We do not consider here experimental elementary schools; our purpose is to explain the dominant practice, leaving for other occasions the question of what *ought* to be.

No one of these practices grows out of a single source, but it is possible to identify their main sources. When they grow out of learning theory, we attempt to indicate the sources of the learning theory from which they emerge.

Taken together, these practices and those which already have been discussed characterize much of what goes on in an ordinary day in an elementary school. The school subjects as entities are not mentioned here, since our intention is to focus not on the subjects but on the practices that enter into subject matter teaching. Nor do we mention independent work or the open classroom—these are global terms. Our intent, to repeat, is to deal with the practices that enter into such global terms, rather than the global terms themselves. In general, we deal with that which is tactical rather than that which is strategic.

SEQUENCE OF SUBJECT MATTER

The idea that subject matter should be sequenced, that one thing must come before another, arises from three sources: the logic of the subject of mathematics, the necessities of classroom management, and, in a minor way, from learning theory.

The most clearly man-made of the subjects taught in school is, of course, mathematics. It conforms to the rules of strict logic, and it may be asserted that one must learn one concept in order to learn the next one which includes it. This property of mathematics—its logical sequence—has been applied to many school subjects, including those with no such orderly logic, such as the social studies. However, the attractiveness of an orderly scope and sequence of subject matter outweighs such inconsistencies. Ironically, though, the strict logic of elementary arithmetic had been questioned even before the advent of the "new" mathematics. It had been found that many children can perform the simple operations of arithmetic before they come to school; they lack only the organizing concepts of division, adding, counting, subtracting. If the logic of the subject matter does not dictate a sequence, why are sequences imposed?

Of course, when one operates with a class of students as a group, it is necessary to maintain some order of events. Even if one goes to the extreme of individualized instruction, in which each child is conducting his own curriculum, one thing must follow another. While the idea of the emergent curriculum casts doubt on any fixed order of events for groups of people, teachers ordinarily have thought it was necessary to have a fixed order of events in order to avoid chaos.

The psychological rationalization of sequence arises from three sources, none of which has had any great influence on the actual decisions about sequences: the ideas of readiness, the Piagetian notions of developmental stages, and the notion of developmental tasks set forth by Havighurst and others about a generation ago. Teachers have seized upon these ideas—indefinite and vague and ambiguous as some of them are in their original form—since they tend to corroborate what the teachers have discovered for themselves out of the necessities of classroom management.

In the main, however, the idea of sequence grows from old folk wisdom: a child must "creep before it walks." The road to salvation (this being a ruling early metaphor) was to be taken step by step, each step required before the next might be taken. In general, the idea of subject matter sequence rests more upon this unexamined metaphor than upon learning theory.

TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks have changed profoundly since the turn of the century. In earlier times they conveyed the Truth. Since then, they have responded to two influences from learning theory: the idea of memory and the idea of a meaningful framework. If one examines the textbooks from 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, and 1960, one detects a substantial change in their appearance. This change does not arise necessarily from any particular theory of learning but comes primarily from the necessities of merchandising. The teachers' committees that select textbooks in many school systems will respond to colored illustrations, large type, a well-leaded format, sturdy bindings, and heavy paper. Therefore, since that is what they will buy, that is what the publishers produce. They sometimes rationalize these elements of format on the basis of "learning theory," but there is little in the way of well-defined theory to support these elements of format. Common sense, which is a formidable producer of educational practice, suggests that children are attracted to books with these elements, and so teachers recommend them.

The changes in the content of textbooks have sometimes responded to shifts in learning theory, as when elements of programmed instruction have found their way into books. During the sixties, especially, curriculum reformers made serious efforts to incorporate scientific conceptions of learning into the development of new programs and materials. Increasingly, it became apparent that much learning theory simply could not be translated comfortably into precise applications. A field of research into the necessary translations was opened up.

THE LIBRARY AND A VARIETY OF RESOURCE MATERIALS

Elementary schools in the more affluent school districts have become much larger during the past forty years, and the variety of materials available to students has been greatly increased. In the late 1920s and the early 1930s, publishers sought to sell basal series of books to the schools. The readers, the social studies texts, and even the arithmetic texts all proceeded from the same vocabulary, thus presumably reducing the problem of reading while at the same time reinforcing reading instruction. The resistance to basal series began almost at once, though many school districts were persuaded to adopt them. Some teachers chose to have several basal series in their classrooms, and a few during the 1930s began the pressure for large libraries. Since approximately 1950, accepted elementary school practice has called for a large library, many textbooks, many source books, and many reference books, together with a large variety of other materials—film strips, overhead projectors and accompanying materials, films, phonograph records, and so on. In the affluent school districts a rich variety of materials, including even videotapes and live TV broadcasts, has become a commonplace.

Much of this arises from common sense. The effort at individualizing learning, which is very old (Montaigne called for it), seeks a rich variety of materials. In the degree that this movement arises from learning theory, it can be thought of as responding to the same principle that produced the unit of work and the project method: learning is responding.

LEARNING IN GROUPS

The decision having been made that children are to learn in groups, a large number of management problems follow. The solution to these management problems, which every teacher has to work out, arise in the main from common sense. Suppplies must be distributed, people have to take turns, one cannot stand a chaotic classroom, children must do some things at least more or less simultaneously, and so on. Most of our group practices arise from such commonsense situations.

The social reinforcement of group learning has not been noticed as much as it might be. The fact is that children compare themselves with other children all the time. While teachers often (and with the enthusiastic support of parents) reduce this to an irrelevant competition for marks, the fact of social reinforcement must be acknowledged. When one has learned to do something, one normally wishes to show it to others in order to verify its social value. Social reinforcement, of course, is one aspect of reinforcement theory. It is reinforcing to gain the approval of others (especially of the teacher) for one's achievements.

There is considerable confusion about this point. In the discussion of the past generation, teachers sought to make the reinforcement obtainable in school as relevant as possible to the tasks being carried on in school. The whole notion that reward should be intrinsic to the task has captured the minds of many teachers. However, in our pursuit of intrinsic rewards, we have overlooked the role of social reinforcement by tending to view such reinforcement as extrinsic and therefore undesirable. While it is easy to argue that most competition as carried on in school is irrelevant to the task, it is important that we recognize that most people take their norms from other people, not from the task itself. In our struggle to bring about criterion-oriented evaluation rather than norm-oriented evaluation we are caught between the demands of the task and the demands of the group. This is an area in which learning theory as understood by practitioners has not yet been of much assistance, nor has common sense. Further thought and research in this field would be fruitful.

HOMEWORK

In typical practice, the assignment of homework bears little relationship to the individual child's learning needs. Homework has to be considered as an outgrowth of one of the rituals of schooling. It has been asserted that in some of the suburban communities children work more hours per week, including time spent on homework, than their fathers do. The conventional wisdom of schooling suggests that homework is in large part a placebo for parents.

The assignment of homework grows from no learning theory, except as the particular assignment may reflect some theory of memory, response, or reward. However, homework assignments are not ordinarily given on such bases; it is truer to the facts to assume that homework is assigned primarily because it satisfies both children and their parents that the child is working hard.

These critical remarks are made about the typical homework assignment, which involves some kind of review of what has already been undertaken at school. They do not apply to homework in which the child carries out the requirements of a school project or some other form of independent work. There is a vast difference, both practically and theoretically, between the kind of homework assignment that consists of "do page 33 in the textbook" and the kind that asks the child to "interview his parents and his neighbors concerning how the furnace works." The latter might arise out of a school project. The former rarely or never does.

Summary

In these pages we have examined sources of school practice. We have found that most school practice does not rest on learning theory in any explicit way, though it often implies a theory. Most school practice arises from tradition, ritual, and the context within which schools are conducted. Only during this century has scientific learning theory had an influence and then only in a fairly minor way. The school is a kind of subculture in which are preserved the relics of former times, with a few practices added or subtracted because of contemporary thought.

We have looked at certain learning theories, in each case expressing them as the educationists do, not necessarily as the learning theorists do. The theories we have examined for their practical expression have been those most widely influential among the practitioners of education in the elementary school. Until the practical implications of more recent theories become evident, it is to be expected that they will continue to have relatively little influence on what actually takes place in the classroom.

CHAPTER VIII

The Economic Context

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In studies that are made of education in the United States, relatively little attention is given to the elementary school as a separate entity. This becomes especially conspicuous when our own schemes of educational development are compared with plans in various countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In these countries, financing of elementary schooling, for example, is dealt with as a distinct issue. Estimates of economic and social returns of various levels and branches of the educational system, however crude, are made separately by level, and elementary education is treated as a unique activity.

There is, of course, an obvious reason for the uniqueness of our approach. Since compulsory education extends to the middle years of secondary school, it is conceptually difficult to isolate costs and returns of the elementary stage alone. In many developing countries, by contrast, even universal elementary education is yet to be achieved. And in those countries where elementary education has been well established, enrollment in secondary education is almost always selective and based on academic qualifications. This fact alone leads one to treat elementary education as a separate and distinct activity.

Because in America we generally think of elementary and secondary education as a single and unified process, data for investigating economic attributes of elementary schooling by itself are by no means plentiful. This is unfortunate, for there are serious and important questions to be dealt with in this area. For lack of these data, we must content ourselves here with a priori views, with some scattered pieces of evidence, and with making guesses as to the nature of the relevant economic magnitudes. It is hoped that what follows will help stimulate further study of the net economic contributions of elementary schools. Clearly, economic input is a major factor shaping them.

The Elementary School As an Economic Activity

By definition, an economic activity is a process of transforming "resources" from one form to another. Again, by definition, resources are elements of value or things possessing a quality that makes them desirable. Examples of such "desirables" are the time and skill of people, physical structures, machinery, and materials —broadly defined and including such things as books and equipment. To say that elementary education is an economic activity implies that the process of schooling consumes economic resources as a means of creating new things of value. In other words, to attain an elementary education, one must buy the services—the time and skill—of teachers and other workers, as well as physical space and the requisite materials of instruction. These resources are consumed in the process of producing skills and understandings in elementary students. The skills and understanding acquired by the elementary student represent a newly created, original resource. The first part of this paper begins to examine the economic context by inventorying and exploring the types and magnitudes of resources employed in elementary education. The types and values of the yields—or outcomes—of the educative process at this level will also be examined.

RESOURCES CONSUMED

In 1970, $45.7 billion was spent on elementary and secondary education, public and private in the United States. This represented 4.5 percent of our gross national product.[1] It is difficult to know, however, how much of this grand total of school expenditure was invested in elementary, as distinct from secondary, schools. Such a figure is not published by the federal government, nor is it commonly calculated by the states. The only source, ordinarily, is the budgets of individual school districts.

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[1] Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1971* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 103.

Since we lack the means to accumulate information from some fifteen thousand districts, a provisional estimation of elementary school expenditures can be made by considering the situation in our largest state, California, and then in our largest city, New York. In California, one may compare expenditures per student in elementary school districts with the corresponding figures in secondary school districts. Admittedly, student enrollment in these "specialized" districts is only about half that found in "unified" (i.e., K-12) districts, but, nevertheless, a comparison is possible. In 1969-70, total current expense per student (ADA) in elementary districts was $684 and in high school districts, $910.[2] Thus, on the average, elementary schools spent per student 75.2 percent of what high schools spent per student.

In New York City, expenditures per student in regular public elementary schools in 1969-70 were $829 and in academic high schools, $1,268, giving a ratio of elementary to high school expenditures of 65.4 percent.[3] In Catholic schools in New York City, costs per elementary school student (1969-70) were $194 and per secondary school student, $435, yielding an elementary to secondary ratio of 44.6 percent. Nonsectarian private schools in New York in the same year expended $1,768 per elementary student and $2,234 per secondary, producing a ratio of 79.1 percent.[4]

Data from our largest state and our largest city present a clear pattern indicating that elementary school expenditures are appreciably lower, per student, than high school expenditures. Two reasons are ordinarily given to explain the difference. First, teachers at the secondary level have more seniority and training on the average than do those at the elementary and, hence, receive higher salaries. Also, average class size in high schools is smaller than in elementary

[2] State Controller, *Annual Report of Financial Transactions Concerning School Districts of California, Fiscal Year 1969–70* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1971), pp. 2-3.

[3] Frederick O'R. Hayes, "Analyzing Education Budgets" (a paper prepared for the New York Commission on Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, 1971), table 5.

[4] Louis R. Gary et al., *The Collapse of Nonpublic Education: Rumor or Reality?* (Report prepared for the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, 1971), pp. 1-9.

because of the need to serve specialized interests of older students. Also, some of the difference is undoubtedly explained by a third factor—expensive physical facilities such as swimming pools, arenas, squash courts, and the like.

Assume, for the moment, that nationwide expenditures for elementary students are 65 percent of the secondary total. Considering the relative magnitudes of elementary and secondary enrollments, this means that of a total elementary and secondary budget of $45.7 billion in 1970, approximately $28.2 billion—2.8 percent of the GNP—would have been spent on public and private elementary schools. Taking this conservative estimate and recognizing that the public sector accounts for approximately 88 percent of total elementary education expenditures, *the elementary schools emerge as the second most costly public function of our nation, being exceeded only by national defense.* Unfortunately, however, as is well known, the gap between resources for defense and resources for the school remains enormously wide.

If we assume, alternately, that the nationwide ratio of elementary to secondary expenditures is 75 percent, then the elementary school budget in 1970 becomes $29.8 billion—a sum that represents 3 percent of the GNP. Keeping these last figures in mind, assume finally that GNP in constant dollars will grow at an average annual rate of 3.5 percent—not an unreasonable forecast—and that the share of GNP spent on primary education will rise one-half of one percentage point, i.e., from 3 to 3.5 percent. If this forecast is accurate, then expenditures in public and private elementary education in the 1979-80 school year would equal $48.2 billion. This is a constant-dollar increase from 1970 of roughly $18 billion—a rise of 61.7 percent. Since enrollments in elementary schools are expected to be stable in the decade of the 1970s, practically all of this income could be available for improving standards of service.

When dealing with resources consumed in providing elementary education, a distinction must first be made between resources which are priced in the market and those which are not so priced.

Market resources. Data from the elementary school districts of California reveal that nearly 65 percent of expenditures go to pay for the salaries of the professional staff, exclusive of administrative expense and pensions. This leaves relatively modest amounts to be spent on internal supplies (found under "instruction" in the other category in table 1), health, food service, and community service. This distribution is typical of most public elementary schools.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF GENERAL FUND EXPENDITURES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, CALIFORNIA, 1969-70

Distribution	Dollars (in millions)	Percent
Total expenditures	813.2	100.0
Administration	28.3	3.5
Instruction	579.9	71.3
Certified teacher	461.3	56.7
Other professional	57.5	7.1
Classified personnel	34.0	4.2
Other	27.1	3.3
Health service	6.7	0.8
Transport	21.7	2.7
Operation-maintenance of plant	82.8	10.2
Fixed charges	44.8	5.5
Food service	4.3	0.5
Community service	9.4	1.2
Debt service	16.3	2.0
Capital outlay	19.0	2.3

Source: State Controller, *Annual Report of the Financial Transactions Concerning School Districts of California*, Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1971.

Not all resources used in the field of elementary education are easily priced, and this applies even to some types of market resources. Some parents provide their own transport for children to and from school. Also, in most households, various forms of specialized clothing are required for youngsters who attend school, and so are such items as books, pencils, and paper, which are needed in addition to those provided "free" in the classroom. Some households purchase supplementary instructional services as well, especially in such fields as music and art. However, the chief household input to education generally, foregone income of students—income lost because students are not working full time for pay—is largely absent in the case of elementary education in the United States because of strict prohibition of child labor. In many other countries, foregone income of elementary students can represent a substantial share of the real costs of primary education.

Nonmarket resources. By definition, "nonmarket resources" are means of production that are not traded in markets and, hence, have no price. In elementary education, such resources include the time of volunteer workers in the schools, time given by parents in helping children with homework, time that is lost (by homework and school attendance) for helping with household chores.

Not easily treated in conventional discussions of elementary school costs is a peculiarity of teacher preparation and service, the fact that many persons who are prepared to teach in elementary schools serve for only a few years, if at all. In principle, it is possible to produce estimates of this special cost factor. Possibly, its magnitude is sufficiently large to show the desirability of policies to induce trained people to serve longer in the schools, even if only in part-time capacities.

The largest nonmarket resource of elementary education is yet to be mentioned: the time and skills students use in teaching each other. Presently, most such instruction is done in an unorganized and unconscious way; yet, the way that children work together appears to be a major characteristic in determining which elementary schools are highly effective institutions and which are not.

ECONOMIC YIELDS

The values of such activities as education are commonly described in two categories: private and social. *Private benefits* are those which accrue to single households by improving (directly or indirectly) the economic status of the family, as when a person attends college, obtains a degree, and thereafter is able to command a better income and higher status. The improved income and status belong to the individual and his household and are a result of his direct participation in an economic activity—a college. *Social benefits* are widely—one is tempted to say evenly—distributed in the population and do not accrue in proportion to one's own direct participation in a given economic activity. For example, we believe it desirable to live under a democratic government and the experience of two hundred years tells us that democracies work better when voters are literate. When a compulsory education system produces that literacy, we all share in varying degrees in the benefits of democratic government. An aged person who grew up before compulsory attendance laws were enforced and is himself illiterate also benefits.

Private benefits of elementary education. The one measure of private benefits of education that is readily quantifiable is differential earnings. If, on the average, persons with more years of schooling receive higher incomes, it is assumed that at least *part* of the extra income (how large a share is still an open question) is attributable to education. The value of this extra income (present discounted value of differential lifetime earnings streams) can then be related approximately to the cost of education (usually defined as current cost of education, depreciation of capital equipment, and foregone income of the student). Generally speaking, investments in education show private returns of roughly the same extent as returns from investments in physical capital. However, the return to elementary education frequently appears to be unusually high.

The earliest modern work (1929) on this question was done by S. G. Strumilin in the U.S.S.R. For the first five years of schooling, Strumilin computed extra income attributable to education at 4,591 old rubles as a result of an expenditure of 170 old rubles. The ratio of return to cost thus is twenty-seven to one. For the sixth to eighth year of schooling, the return was 781 rubles against cost of 191, yielding a ratio of returns to cost of four to one. As Strumilin said, ". . . it is not difficult to see that the significance of schooling of the second stage is not nearly as great as that of primary school."[5]

In his famous paper, "Education and Economic Growth," published in 1961, Theodore W. Schultz reached similar conclusions. He estimated for the year 1958 that the ratio of the incremental earnings differential to the costs of education in the United States stood at 40.2 for elementary education, 11.8 for secondary, and 11 for college.[6] A decade later, in a 1971 paper, Schultz indicated that rates of return from elementary education stood at 35 percent, as compared with 25 percent for high school and 15 percent for college.[7] Similar findings have been reported from such dissimilar economies as Greece and India.[8]

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[5] S. G. Strumilin, "The Economic Significance of National Education," reprinted in *Readings in the Economics of Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1968), p. 424.

[6] *Social Forces Influencing American Education*, Sixtieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: Distributed by University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 79.

There are, however, certain vagaries in these estimates of returns from primary or elementary education. The high returns reported from overseas frequently reflect the extremely low costs of primary schooling. As a result, almost any income differential of a primary school graduate over that of an illiterate person is translated into a magnificent yield—even for the partially employed person. To take an extreme example, in 1970 in the former province of East Pakistan, a year of university education, using the official rate of exchange, involved direct costs (exclusive of income foregone) of $600, while a year of primary schooling was priced at only $5.

In the United States, analogous estimates are suspect because of compulsory schooling laws. Very few Americans leave school at the end, say, of the eighth grade. The returns necessarily refer to a fairly small group of older people who somehow failed to participate in the almost universal extension of attendance into the secondary years. Even more troublesome, this select group must be compared in its earnings with yet a smaller one—those who are illiterate or who did not complete the elementary years. The case is thus somewhat artificial.

The real question at issue is the effect of *quality* of education, not the length of school experience alone, on one's lifetime earnings. The accurate assessment of returns from the quality of education, of course, is an academic exercise still in its infancy.[9] We need to know much more about the economic returns resulting from the quality of schooling. *Then we need information on the signifi-*

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[7] Theodore W. Schultz, "Human Capital: Policy Issues and Research Opportunities" (Paper prepared for National Bureau of Economic Research Colloquium, revised January 7, 1971), pp. 36-38.

[8] Harvey Leibenstein, "Rates of Return to Education in Greece" (Development Advisory Service, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Economic Development Report No. 94); Mark Blaug et al., *The Causes of Graduate Unemployment in India* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1969).

[9] Finis Welch, "Measurement of the Quality of Schooling," *American Economic Review* (1966): 379-92; George E. Johnson and Frank P. Stafford, "Social Returns to Quality of Schooling" (Paper presented to Annual Meeting of the Econometric Society, December, 1970).

cance of the elementary school years in relation to the ultimate educational experience of a person. A priori, we can relate the quality of the entire educational career of a person to the quality of his elementary schooling, and recent work indicates that the quality of primary schooling is of particular importance to students from low-income households.[10] However, much additional work needs to be done.

The policy question, then, is as follows: assuming that there will be an increase in the funds available for educational services, at what point in the educational career of a student should they be most massively concentrated: preschool, primary grades, later elementary, high school, college, or in ventures outside the conventional structure of American schooling? In all probability, the answer will turn out to be different for different types of students.

So much for conventional views on rates of return to elementary education. It must be noted in passing, however, that the private returns to schooling comprise more than mere differentials in earning power. Presumably, large numbers of elementary students enjoy being in school, and the pleasure they take is surely an important personal gain. During the hours students are in school, their mothers are free to take employment for pay or to engage in other desired activities free of the responsibility for child care. Insofar as a higher quality of elementary education improves the effectiveness of instruction over a person's whole educational career, one must reckon with cumulative effect from one generation to another: children of well-educated households themselves do better in school than children of the less well educated ones.

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[10] In an extremely provocative study of the Richmond, California, public schools, Donald R. Winkler reported: "The hypothesis is that for relatively deprived children, school resources received earliest in life are the most important whereas for children from middle-class backgrounds, those school resources most recently received are the most important determinants of verbal achievement. The evidence which suggests this hypothesis is slim, for the terms used to estimate the distributed lags are highly collinear. However, one finds that for Blacks we can never reject the null hypothesis that school resources are equally effective over all years . . . whereas for Whites we can reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis that those resources received most recently have the largest marginal products." See his "The Production of Human Capital: A Study of Minority Achievement" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, Department of Economics, 1972), chap. 7.

Social benefits of elementary education. We have already touched on the social benefit of living in a democracy having a majority of educated voters. As a general rule, higher levels of education appear to be associated inversely with violent crime and the need for incarceration. No doubt there are other social benefits of education in general.[11] One may mention values of the aesthetic life. Though great cultural achievements have appeared in societies with very limited educational opportunities, in general, large resource commitments to mass education are positively associated with advances in literature, music, the visual arts, and the performing arts. The primary social benefit of elementary education would appear to be the sorting or classification of persons in ways that, hopefully, will enable them to become more useful to society and to themselves. That this sorting mechanism may be working ineffectively is, however, a matter of serious concern.

The Special Economic Function of Sorting

Edward F. Denison recently pointed out that public expenditures on higher education vary markedly from one person to another *and* that they are systematically related to the grades one receives in high school.[12] For example, taking data for white males, public higher education expenditures are distributed by high school grade average as follows:

Grade averages (White males)	*Dollars of public expenditure*
A+, A, A−	$5,811
B+, B, B−	3,231
C+	2,249
C	1,711
C−	1,066
Less than C−	666
All	2,518

It also would appear that one's lifetime prospects of job, position in community, the success expectation of one's children, and so forth, hinge substantially on whether one goes to college, what type of college one attends, and (to a lesser degree) the caliber of work one does in college.[13]

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[11] See Burton A. Weisbrod, *External Benefits of Public Education: An Economic Analysis* (Princeton University, Industrial Relations Section, 1964).

[12] Edward F. Denison, "An Aspect of Inequality of Opportunity," *Journal of Political Economy* 78 (1970): 1195-202.

It is quite possible that the importance of the role of the school in mediating future life opportunities led the California Supreme Court, in the now famous case, *Serrano* v. *Priest*, to state: ". . . education is unmatched in the extent to which it molds the personality of the youth of society. While police and fire protection, garbage collection, and street lights are essentially neutral in their effect on the individual psyche, public education actively attempts to shape a child's personal development in a manner chosen not by the child or his parents but by the state."[14]

Not everyone, of course, can be equally successful, though our definitions of success could be considerably broader. As Burton R. Clark has stated, ". . . democratic societies . . . need selective training institutions, and hierarchical work organizations permit increasingly fewer persons to succeed at ascending levels. Situations of opportunity are also situations of denial and failure."[15]

At what point does it become apparent which children will become academic successes—with all that academic success implies for life opportunities—and which will be academic failures? We can be reasonably sure that the process starts in elementary school.

Eighth-grade achievement scores are significantly related to first-grade IQ scores.[16] While IQ scores may display class bias, it is entirely possible that the performance of a student in school is shaped importantly by such elements as the expectations of teachers which are generated by the early testing mechanisms.[17] The impact of the self-fulfilling prophecies generated by the testing process is probably increased by tracking or ability grouping.

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[13] James W. Guthrie et al., *Schools and Inequality* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1971), chap. 5.

[14] *Serrano* v. *Priest*, Supreme Court, State of California, August 30, 1971 (96 California Reporter), p. 619.

[15] Burton R. Clark, "The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education," *American Journal of Sociology* 65 (1960): 569.

[16] Winkler, op. cit., chap. 6.

[17] For the similarity of the relation between home background and achievement scores, on the one hand, and home background and IQ scores on the other, see C. S. Benson et al., *State and Local Fiscal Relationships in Public Education in California* (Sacramento, State Senate, 1965), pp. 43-46. For discussion of the effects of teachers' perception and expectations on stu-

In a society characterized by a high degree of interdependence and specialized labor, it is extremely important that the sorting—classification—system work fairly and accurately. Unless it works fairly, we can have no social peace. Unless it works accurately and discovers talent wherever it can be found—regardless of class differences—we suffer serious losses in our economic well-being and in our aesthetic life. While much remains to be learned, time may prove that the classification process, inherently self-fulfilling, takes place too early in the life of the child. At present, one of our problems also is that the instruments of classification are not sufficiently accurate and, along with this fact, that teachers do not fully perceive how the classification process is viewed by parents, students, and school administrators.[18] If there is one point at which public concern about the effectiveness of elementary education might become focused, perhaps this is it.

Mechanisms of Finance of Elementary Education

Traditionally, it has been left to school districts to levy a local tax, commonly in the past a property tax, to provide funds for the elementary school budget. Thus, the financing of our second largest public activity rests predominantly on the financial powers of what usually are fairly small units of government. Often, school districts are not only small but also fiscally weak, hampered by inadequate taxable resources, tax rate limits, borrowing limits, and the like.

It is true, of course, that the state and federal governments assist in paying for schools. In 1970-71, for instance, state governments provided 41 percent of total school revenues and the federal government supplied 7 percent.[19] To date, the federal share is too

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dent performance, see Helen H. Davidson and Gerhard Lang, "Children's Perceptions of Their Teachers' Feelings toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement, and Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Education* 20 (1960): 107–18; Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

[18] I am indebted to David Kirp, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley, for discussions of these points.

[19] Research Division, National Education Association, *Financial Status of the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1971), p. 36.

small for Washington to have any very important impact on the financial situation of most school districts. State grants are another matter, however, for the size of the contribution is large enough for states to exert considerable local leverage. For example, since the early 1920s, the states have tried to take action to "equalize" local fiscal powers by giving larger amounts of money (per student) to poor school districts than to rich ones. Unless states continue to take effective action in this regard, poor school districts will face the unhappy situation of having to levy school taxes at extremely high rates or of having marginal school programs, while rich districts enjoy the twin benefits of low tax rates and superior schools.

California is a reasonably progressive state in school finance practices; yet how poorly children have fared was revealed by the California Supreme Court on August 30, 1971, in *Serrano* v. *Priest.* The court stated:

> . . . so long as the assessed valuation within a district's boundaries is a major determinant of how much it can spend for its schools, only a district with a large tax base will be truly able to decide how much it really cares about education. The poor district cannot tax itself into an excellence which its tax rates cannot provide . . . [and] fiscal free will is a cruel illusion for the poor school districts. We cannot agree that Baldwin Park residents care less about education than those in Beverly Hills solely because Baldwin Park spends less than $600 per child while Beverly Hills spends over $1,200. As defendants themselves recognize, perhaps the most accurate reflection of a community's commitment to education is the rate at which its citizens are willing to tax themselves to support their schools. Yet by that standard, Baldwin Park should be deemed far more devoted to learning than Beverly Hills, for Baldwin Park citizens levied a school tax of well over $5 per $100 of assessed valuation while residents of Beverly Hills paid only slightly more than $2.[20]

Similar rulings that "quality of education may not be a function of local wealth" recently have been handed down in Minnesota, Texas, and New Jersey. More are expected in the next few years.

The simplest response to the *Serrano* issue—and the one that preserves most features of the present administrative and financial structure—is "district power equalizing."[21] Under this plan, any two districts that levy the same local school tax rate are able to spend precisely the same amount of dollars per student in their schools. This suggests a table such as the following:

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[20] *Serrano* v. *Priest*, op. cit., p. 620.

[21] See John E. Coons, William H. Clune II, and Stephen D. Sugarman,

Local tax rate options (per $100 assessed valuation)	*Local school expenditures per student*
$1.50	$ 500
1.75	650
2.00	800
2.25	950
2.50	1,100
2.75	1,250
3.00	1,500

Obviously, the implementation of such a plan requires that states continue to grant from state funds a larger number of dollars per student to poor districts than to rich districts. What is added is that state governments would have to take the objective of equalization of local taxing capacities much more seriously.

Even this simple approach has its difficulties. Some rich districts raise large sums of money at virtually any local tax rate. So large are their resources that they would be required, under most equalization schemes, to hand over to the state most of their local revenue for redistribution to other, poorer districts. Naturally, rich districts are reluctant to do so. Furthermore, not all districts rich in taxable property are inhabited by wealthy people, so district power equalizing could hurt some poor households. The plan also would require an upper limit on spending; otherwise, the state would be seen as giving a "blank check" to local authorities. Yet, many districts cherish the right to use their local wealth for the education of their children, free of state-imposed ceilings on spending.

This leads to the most basic concern. Since *Serrano* v. *Priest* stated that a finance system which allows quality of education to be determined by local wealth stands in violation of the equal

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Private Wealth and Public Education (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), chap. 6. District power equalizing is a version of the "percentage equalizing grant" adopted in England in 1917. This grant is discussed in Charles S. Benson, *The Economics of Public Education*, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968), chaps. 5–6.

protection guarantee of the U.S. Constitution, is it then any more acceptable that the quality of education offered a child be a function of the tastes, as expressed in local votes for school budgets, of his neighbors?

It is from such considerations as these that recommendations are now being advanced for a second type of response to the *Serrano* issue—"full state funding." [22] Under this plan the state government assumes responsibility for the *entire* support of the public education system. To raise revenue, the state government has several options. It might adopt a statewide school property tax. It might introduce a new tax, such as a levy on value added (essentially, a tax on salaries and profits in all business firms, which is now under consideration for use by both national and state governments), or it might increase rates of income taxation. In addition, the state must adopt a plan for distribution of resources to school districts. It is generally agreed that the distribution should provide an equal number of dollars per student, except where *educational criteria* indicate otherwise. For example, the state might wish to recognize special learning requirements or interests of different children just as it might wish to recognize differences in the price tag on educational services, such as teachers' salaries, in different parts of the state.

Full state funding might appear to abrogate local control of schools. Actually, however, the plan could free local boards of the necessity of spending time pleading for tax rate increases, on the one hand, and negotiating about salaries with teachers' unions, on the other. The time saved, one would hope, could be used to deal with instructional matters. Further, there is nothing inconsistent between centralization of finance at the state level and decentralization of substantial power of day-to-day operation to the individual school. In any case, it seems clear that full state funding will work better if regional educational authorities are encouraged to expand the various services which they provide to local schools. This is to say that distribution of "aid in kind" reduces to a tolerable level the need of the state government to make fine judgments about the amount of cash that must be made available to different local authorities.

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[22] The idea of full state funding was proposed some decades ago. See Henry C. Morrison, *School Revenues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930). The idea was revived in 1968 by James Bryant Conant. A memorandum urging consideration of the idea from Dr. Conant to the late Dr. James E. Allen, then Commissioner of Education, State of New York, appears in chapter 3 of the *Report* (New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, 1972).

A third response to the *Serrano* issue is privatization. Under this plan each household, in effect, becomes its own school district and makes choices about which schools, publicly or privately administered, it wishes its children to attend. The latest version, called "family power equalizing," proposes that grants to households be arranged so that families of quite different levels of income can exercise educational criteria, as distinct from cost criteria, in making their choices.[23] Both poor families and the well-to-do thus can choose expensive schools, if they so wish, at roughly the same relative cost to the household budget. The plan's strength is that it provides for the first time a substantial measure of choice in education for poor families—approximately the same degree of choice that wealthy families have always possessed. At the same time, there are critics who contend that the exercise of powers of choice in education would take antisocial directions and that too much racial, religious, and political separatism in educational institutions might emerge.

Productivity of Elementary Education

The responses of state governments to the *Serrano* issue seem likely to provide additional resources for the majority of elementary schools in the country. We have already suggested that support for elementary education can be enhanced without causing an intolerable strain on the economy. But what improvements in quality will the extra money yield? Little is known with regard to the nature of productivity in elementary education, but, nonetheless, some approaches to the problem of obtaining genuine and significant returns from additional spending in the schools can be suggested.

ALLOCATIONS OF TIME

Though it has little market value in our country, the *time* of the elementary student is the scarcest resource in the school. Other resources may be increased in quantity, but the total hours that any child can effectively devote to learning has finite limit. This leads to the important matter of whether the allocation of the student's time can be improved.

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[23] John E. Coons and Stephen D. Sugarman, "Family Choice in Education: A Model State System for Vouchers," *California Law Review* (1971): 321-438.

It is not suggested that one should be concerned with how many minutes during the school day a student does this or that; broader questions, however, are relevant. For one thing, it is not at all clear that the present cycle characterizing the school year is an appropriate one. Too much learning momentum may be squandered during the long summer vacation. Again, one may surmise that children are better able to learn aspects of certain subjects, such as mathematics, at particular points in their progress toward maturity than at other points. Insofar as this is true, the practice of trying to teach any given group of students a fairly large number of subjects simultaneously (within the day, week, or month) might give way to greater specialization by subjects in the use of the student's time. This does not mean, of course, that students would not eventually study all the major subjects, but rather that the phasing of studies might be different from what it is now. Finally, the success of such projects as SEED suggests it might be well to see that elementary students are provided more contact with people who are themselves specialists—graduate mathematicians (as in the case of SEED), painters, actors, musicians, biologists, machinists, computer scientists, and the like.[24]

COMPLEMENTARY SERVICES

Referring to New York City, Annie Stein has stated, "The average child in 85 percent of the Black and Puerto Rican schools is functionally illiterate after eight years of schooling in the richest city in the world."[25] It may well be that efforts to change the school performance of children from low-income households are doomed to failure as long as those efforts center almost exclusively on the provision of formal instructional services. For example, suppose that a young student is having difficulty in learning to read. If his problem is with his eyes, it is of little help to provide the service of an extra reading specialist when what he really needs is a pair of glasses.

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[24] SEED is a program in which graduate mathematicians and graduate students in mathematics teach mathematical ideas to elementary students by the discovery method. See George A. W. Boehm, "How to Teach the Esoteric Mathematical Principle of Infinite Convergence—and Make Any Sixth-Grader Eat It Up," *Think* 36 (September/October 1970): 10-14.

[25] Annie Stein, "Strategies for Failure," *Harvard Educational Review* 41 (1971): 158.

Too little attention in our country has been given to the complementary relation between educational services and standards of nutrition, health in general, quiet housing, and recreation. Middle-class families take care of these matters rather well, it would seem, but many poorer households are unable to do so. If the effects of the *Serrano* decision are to reinforce past practices of trying to improve education in low-income neighborhoods through single-minded concentration on ordinary educational services, little improvement in that education may occur.[26]

PROFESSIONAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

A better setting in which to investigate productivity relationships in elementary education is urgently needed. Quite possibly the schools should accept guidance from the medical profession. Before the advent of highly scientific, computer-based medical research, there was a slow but effective process for accumulating knowledge as doctors reported on interesting cases to local, state, and national medical societies. These papers, not always written in graceful English, (a) described the patient, (b) stated accurately the steps taken by the doctors in his treatment, and (c) described the change in the patient's condition.

A causal relationship between treatment and results was not necessarily claimed, but when several cases indicated similar results, a basis was established for a more thorough examination of the treatment process. This examination could take place in "teaching hospitals," which were established early in the development of the medical profession and were often located in downtown areas of high population density. In collaboration with medical faculties in the university, these hospitals became the locus of three important functions: high-grade medical service to clients (often free of charge), on-the-job instruction of young practitioners, and applied research.

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[26] Henry C. Levin, "The Human Capital Approach to Financing Equality of Educational Opportunity" (Consultants' report to the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, August 1971). For an earlier statement on this point see Charles S. Benson, *The Cheerful Prospect* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), chap. 4.

From this analogy, it is suggested that "professional elementary schools" might be established in downtown areas. Such schools should be allied with faculties of a university but not exclusively with the education faculty. They should provide high-grade teaching service, offer teacher internships in the most advanced kind of educational setting, and conduct applied research. These institutions would obviously be different from the conventional university laboratory schools, both in being much larger and in having a more diversified student body.[27]

The Case for Priority of Resource Distribution to Elementary Education

Statements made in this chapter and elsewhere as to our lack of information on productivity relationships in elementary education should not stand in the way of our urge to improve early schooling. Up to now, many elementary school budgets have been treated as a kind of adjunct to secondary school budgets. Frequently they have been advanced more or less pro rata with the latter. But what a student can learn at a given point in time is related to skills in learning that he has previously developed. Under this argument, one would seek to improve the performance of students in secondary schools in substantial part by trying to improve the caliber of work done earlier in the elementary years. This might take the form of "rolling readjustment" of the quality in our school systems, a readjustment under which additional resources are first injected in early education, then in primary education, later in the higher elementary years, and so on, through the years of secondary and college training. Improvements in programs thus could be timed to coincide with the enhanced capacity of a given cohort of students to profit from more intensive instructional experiences.

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[27] For a discussion of the development and present role of the teaching hospital, see John H. Knowles, ed., *The Teaching Hospital* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). For a statement on the professional school proposal see Charles S. Benson, "The Economics of Education in Urban Society," *Phi Delta Kappan* 48 (March 1967).

Let us close with thought of future development of elementary education. All of us are likely to read the future somewhat differently, but certain projections are reasonably clear. First, for the coming decade at least, pressure of enrollments will be grossly moderated in most school districts. Overcrowded schools—as well as overcrowded households—should become a thing of the past. If we are so inclined, we will have space and time to take good care of our young students. Second, economic growth of the nation will allow moderate expansion in per student expenditures as a matter of course. Though resources will be available to be won, if dramatic increases are desired, a case for priority of resource commitment to elementary education must be made in a convincing manner. Third, the distribution of educational resources among schools will gradually become fairer, in the sense that school dollars will reflect in lesser degree local district wealth.

The real speculative question is this: What will be the nature of future changes in the productivity of the schools? Given that elementary education will almost surely remain a labor-intensive activity, one may postulate that the central issues are (a) how to establish more effective programs of in-service training and (b) how to determine the desirable proportions in the schools of full-time certificated staff, part-time staff, and paraprofessionals. Such questions do not lie beyond the wit of man.

SECTION III

CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS FOR TODAY

CHAPTER IX

Organizing and Staffing the School

ROBERT H. ANDERSON

Introduction

Although there has been a lot more smoke than fire and much more rhetoric than action, the last two decades have been enlivened nevertheless by the search for more appropriate and effective ways of organizing and staffing elementary schools. Previously, virtually the only organizational arrangement was the graded classroom serving one age group of children presumed to be at roughly the same stage of academic development and taught by one teacher in a self-contained classroom. Occasionally, other teachers worked with separate classes of children—especially in physical education, art, music, and library. School architecture honored and entrenched this arrangement by providing rows of box-like classrooms each effectively separated from the others. In addition to the classroom teachers and any specialist teachers, other adult personnel in the school usually included a principal, school secretary, part-time nurse, custodian(s), and perhaps cafeteria workers.

In 1973 such organization and staffing patterns probably are still typical of most schools. Surveys by Silberman [1] and Goodlad and Klein [2] corroborate this. Certainly more than half of the elementary schools in the United States at present have age-graded, self-contained classes and an adult staff similar to that described above.

However, anyone surveying schools in 1973 also would discover an increasing number of schools employing different patterns of organization and staffing. Some would be remarkably unlike the typical schools of yesteryear both with respect to physical layout and design and in their educational and psychological climate. The surveyors might also find "alternatives to schools," or schools being operated within a highly unconventional framework. Viewing the national scene as a whole, they probably would conclude that over a twenty-year interval, there has been a modest, significant, and continuing effort to find better ways of dealing with children in the contexts we have known as schooling.

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[1] Charles E. Siberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[2] John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein, and Associates, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970).

The apparent success of contemporary educational innovation has been minor, especially when measured against need and the persuasiveness of supporting argument in the literature. Although the forces of conservatism and resistance to change are obviously powerful in education, their champions seem relatively few by comparison with those who advocate, or at least appear to be tolerant of, alternative organizational and personnel arrangements. If a visitor to the United States were snowbound in an education library and read works of the past decade, he might well conclude that we have developed a greater commitment to flexible and humane patterns than he is likely to find once the streets have been plowed and his school visits begin.

There is thus a broad chasm between what many educators continue to do and what others argue should be done. That gap may be closing but only at a painfully slow rate. Whether the momentum generated by successful pilot projects can be maintained is a matter of both concern and conjecture.

Conventional Organizational Patterns

Unfortunately, educators have too little awareness of their own history. Although the context and priorities may change, it is distressing to observe how each generation laboriously "reinvents the wheel" and fails to probe or to profit from prior experience. Since the United States has generally avoided centralization of educational authority and our research has tended to be uncoordinated and even egocentric and competitive, many valuable lessons have been lost and mistakes repeated.

An interesting case in point is the current love affair in the United States with British primary schools. "Open education," to use one of the terms in popular use, has both theoretical and practical roots in the same soil that has nurtured the so-called nongraded school movement in America. Both can be traced in pedagogical concepts of not only the twentieth but the nineteenth and probably earlier centuries. Yet, only rarely in the literature on either open education or nongradedness that is fashionable on both sides of the Atlantic are these historical links acknowledged. This weakens successive efforts to develop appropriate models, since each new group not only stubs its toe on the same problems but fails to capitalize on gains previously made.

Team teaching, for instance, seemed in the late 1950s to be a dramatic invention. As it struggled for acceptance in the face of stubborn resistance from "establishment" spokesmen and some officers of national professional associations, both protagonists and antagonists revealed themselves to be conspicuously ignorant of historical and other forces that led to the much publicized pilot projects. Concurrent developments, such as those reported in the Bay City and Yale-Fairfield studies of teacher assistants, at first scarcely were recognized as being highly relevant events in the search for more flexible staffing arrangements. Numerous precedents established in nearly a century of searching were only belatedly examined for theoretical support and operational advice.

Many educational problems are better understood—and the relevance of current proposals more sharply revealed—when seen in historical perspective. Given what was then known and believed, for example, about the stages of human intellectual development and about human motivation, the age-graded arrangement adopted around 1848 in Boston probably made sense. The limited education and training of the available teacher force made both the age-graded arrangement (which reduced to manageable proportions each teacher's academic responsibilities) and the competitive-comparative marking and reporting system more easily defensible. Given not only the centuries-old tradition of teachers working in isolation, but also the sociological and architectural settings of mid-nineteenth-century America, it is not surprising that the rapidly growing public school system maintained and sanctified the pattern of the self-contained, independent teacher seeking visual and verbal control over her pupils.

However, given what is *now* known or believed about human intellectual development, motivation, reward-and-punishment systems, teachers and their preparation, the society and its needs, and even about architecture, surely one would not want to design a school system characterized by age-graded classes, autonomous teachers, competitive-comparative marking, and egg-crate classrooms. Given what is now believed about variety in patterns and styles of learning and given the available repertoire of published, audiovisual, and other teaching-learning resources, one patently could not encourage the wholesale use of recitation-response lessons and other total-class-oriented, didactic procedures of instruction identified with conventional organizational schemes. In short, the context of the 1970s is so fundamentally different that continued use of pre-1900 edustructural arrangements is ridiculous.

Long familiarity with traditional methods undoubtedly helps to explain their persistence. But perhaps even more deeply embedded in our culture are the theological and pseudopsychological concepts that created and nourished these educational rituals in the first place. The early literature on the graded school contained a strong flavor of the elements of religion and the spirit of liberty that Alexis de Tocqueville perceived in American society. The Puritan ethic, linking morality with perseverance and valuing individual hard work and self-sacrifice, also was very much in evidence. A pupil's failure to achieve was seen as a breakdown in effort or will, and even precocity was despised because it disturbed the orderliness and the efficiency of a system presumably suitable for all properly diligent children. That every child could satisfy each grade's requirements "if only he would try" was not only a moralistic but also a pedagogical conviction of the nineteenth-century teacher.

Certain political and social views still much in evidence in the United States today—for example, the attitude that people on welfare if able-bodied should be required to work—demonstrate that the Puritan ethic has not disappeared as a factor in social policy. Visits to a random sample of elementary schools would confirm that children's academic failures (total or partial) still are regarded largely to be due to insufficiency of will and application rather than to diagnostic, strategic, or procedural errors on the part of the teaching staff. Even in schools where more modern programs are being developed, it is nearly always possible to find teachers with strong loyalties to the Puritan ethic and with convictions that competitive report cards (and related classroom practices) are needed as motivational pressure.

The centuries-old practice of assigning one teacher to each group (class) of elementary-age pupils probably had no supporting theoretical justification until the second quarter or so of the twentieth century. At that point, perhaps because the tenability of the existing pattern was coming into question and alternatives such as departmentalization were being tested, new theories touted the academic, social, and personal-spiritual-emotional advantages of the one-teacher/one-class arrangement. In brief, the academic argument was that a single teacher responsible for instruction in all major academic subjects could arrange better interdisciplinary consistency and coordination than could several teachers with divided responsibility. The social argument was that a small and stable group of children could develop a more friendly and cohesive family infrastructure than would be found in a situation involving greater numbers of children in a frequently changing situation. It was argued further that children would be more secure and at peace if exposed only to one teacher's personality and teaching style within a familiar and unchanging setting. Pupil guidance, too, would be more easily provided in such a setting.

The one-teacher/one-class graded structure has survived vigorously to the present. However, the assumptions and justifications supporting it are now being strongly challenged and alternatives offered in increasing numbers.

Emerging Arrangements

With reference to both horizontal and vertical school organization schemes, the 1973 scene is a veritable potpourri of practices. Even in the same school, assorted vertical patterns may exist. In the nation as a whole, however, it seems that the overwhelming majority of schools are organized either in literally graded classes, which employ the vintage terminology of grades, promotion, and failure plus all the psychological and pedagogical ploys associated with graded classrooms at their worst, or in graded classes using the same basic vocabulary but in which teachers deliberately seek to be more responsive to the academic and psychological needs of the pupils, particularly those functioning above and below grade-level expectancy. A few more flexible examples can be found labeled nongraded, continuous progress, or open education. In these classrooms, though, there is a rather wide range of skill and commitment on the part of the participating teachers.

Similarly, with respect to horizontal organization, the preponderance of U.S. schools feature essentially self-contained classrooms, although a growing number are using one or another of the forms of cooperative teaching. Only rarely are schools found in which pupils below the sixth or seventh grade move from teacher to teacher in a pattern resembling secondary school departmentalization. Encountered more often is a modified form of self-containment, with a teacher in general charge of a group of children and arrangements which put those same children in the occasional charge of other teachers whose specialty is, say, mathematics or science or a comparable discipline. Quite often, what is described as team teaching might be a version of pupil interchange (sometimes called the Joplin Plan), usually carried on in conjunction with language arts (especially reading) and mathematics.

Sometimes we find a more elaborate form of full-scale team teaching, sometimes with as many as six teachers sharing teaching responsibility for a large cluster of children. More than likely, such groups will be housed in architecturally open spaces equal in size to three, four, or more classrooms, though some good examples of teaming can be found in even the most conventional box-type buildings. A few schools employing other experimental arrangements are also in evidence here and there.

In the search for both horizontal and vertical organizational options suited to the needs of today's children, educators have been motivated by both philosophical and practical considerations. Practically, it can be argued that the conventional scheme (a) has failed to provide for a large proportion of the clients served, (b) is too rigid and inflexible, (c) is inconsistent with the growing body of knowledge about human learning and with available technology, and (d) places too great a burden on the teacher. Philosophically, it is argued that the graded convention and associated practices cannot be reconciled with the values of human dignity and are therefore, in the final analysis, inhumane.

With reference to alternatives to the self-contained classroom, both practical and philosophic undertones may be found in such familiar arguments as:

1. Children find more opportunity for release and inspiration when exposed to several adult models than when only one model is available.
2. Observing several adults in a collaborative relationship, who share in decisions and work obligations as well as in achievements and satisfactions, provides a more wholesome and realistic model of adult behavior than does observing one autonomous adult.
3. The child has more freedom to seek and build relationships and to change roles in a larger and more dispersed group than in a smaller class unit.
4. Teachers are more likely to grow in knowledge (about children, about teaching, and about the branches of curriculum) if they are in a constant working relationship with each other rather than left by themselves.

As mentioned above, the open classroom modeled on adaptations of exemplar British infant and primary schools has recently come into vogue on the American scene. Related literature[3] is reaching significant proportions, and, in fact, some of the more enthusiastic statements have led some writers to caution against the danger of mere bandwagon adoptions. Although the more recent open-education movement does in fact have some historical and theoretical roots that differ slightly from those of the nongraded movement, it is probably true that the two movements are similar with respect to their goals and views of how children should be regarded and treated.

An excellent list of the assumptions upon which advocates of open education have based their proposals was developed by Barth.[4] Among these assumptions, which Barth validated with both British and American proponents of open education, are: (a) children are innately curious, (b) play is a predominant mode of learning in early childhood, (c) children have both the competence and the right to make significant decisions concerning what and how they learn, (d) children naturally tend to share important learnings, (e) children learn and develop not only at their own rate but in their own style, (f) errors are to be expected and even desired as part of the learning process, (g) knowledge does not fall into neatly separate categories or disciplines, and (h) little knowledge exists which it is essential for everyone to acquire.

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[3] Roland S. Barth and Charles H. Rathbone, *A Bibliography of Open Education* (Newton, Mass.: Education Development Center, 1971). It is clear that the literature on open education is more sophisticated than that on nongradedness.

[4] Roland S. Barth, *Open Education* (New York: Agathon Press, forthcoming); Roland S. Barth, "So You Want to Change to an Open Classroom," *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (1971): 97-99.

It will be seen, therefore, that school practices based on such assumptions must necessarily be far more child-centered, flexible, and humane than earlier teacher-centered practices based on primitive and often negative assumptions about children's predispositions to learn. While other categories of assumptions (e.g., the effects of different types of pupil-to-pupil interaction, the actual shape and contents of the environment, and the proper role of electronic and audiovisual resources in each child's program) must be examined in the search for more appropriate organizational structures, the Barth list would seem to be a helpful summary of some of the concepts that currently require profession-wide examination.

Quiescent, but by no means dead, is the concept of facilitating individual learning with the help of programmed textbooks and teaching machines. In the period of disappointment and uneasiness that followed the 1957-1965 boom-and-bust of the early stages of machine technology, some educators concluded that the idea had failed. Such pessimistic evaluations notwithstanding, curriculum planning received a significant boost from the extensive development of programmed instruction, especially because of the careful delineation of specific objectives in behavioral terms necessitated by it. What is more, it was discovered that even small children could handle complicated tasks and equipment and usually could monitor their own work with minimum teacher assistance. An offshoot with continuing vigor and influence is Individually Prescribed Instruction (IPI), which grew out of the Oakleaf Project at the Learning Research and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh, providing programmed instructional materials in reading, mathematics, and science.[5]

Linear programming, which uses fixed sequences through which the pupil proceeds by small steps, makes error avoidance a central feature of the learning process, and the feedback process places the child in an engrossing relationship with textbooks and machines. In nonlinear programming the child is confronted with the need to make choices and, depending upon the nature of his response, new sequences can be presented.

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[5] See annotated bibliography, pp. 73-97, in *Progress Report II: Individually Prescribed Instruction* (Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools, March 1971).

The computer, a relatively new factor on the scene, is very likely to become a resource of almost incalculable value to education. Realistically, however, it may be 1980 and beyond before its full contribution will be felt. With programmed texts and audiovisual resources (especially audiotapes, films, and videotapes) as the basic instructional material, computers are today coming into use as management devices. Computer-assisted instruction, perhaps beginning first in higher education, seems likely to be a major, if not dominating, force on the future educational scene. Its acceptance and success obviously will depend on the future versatility of the equipment in evaluative studies that help us more fully to comprehend *what* the learner knows, *how* he learns, *what* he needs and wants to know, and *how* best to array the learning opportunities related to selected goals.

Several programs of computer-based instruction already are in use[6] and others are in various stages of development. These, IPI, and other approaches to more individualized learning tend to involve children primarily in independent studies and in a one-to-one tutorial relationship with teachers. In schools using these approaches, total-class instruction occurs much less frequently, and even small-group activities may be less common than they were in the past. Inasmuch as pupil-pupil interaction has an important role to play in the intellectual and academic as well as the personal and social development of children, there are indications that more balance should be sought in the scheduling of independent study, small-group experiences, and classwide lessons.

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[6] H. J. Van der Aa, ed., *Computer and Education: An International Bibliography* (New York: Science Associates International, 1970); John C. Flanagan, "How Instructional Systems Will Manage Learning," *Nation's Schools* 86 (October 1970): 65-69, 120; Thomas J. Quirk, "The Student in Project PLAN: A Functioning Program of Individualized Education," *Elementary School Journal* 71 (1970): 42-54; and Taher A. Razik, comp. and ed., *Bibliography of Programmed Instruction and Computer-Assisted Instruction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology Publications, 1971).

Pupil-grouping practices, about which Heathers recently has written a definitive essay,[7] are very closely related to the patterns of organization and staffing in use within a school. Shane and others have prepared an annotated list of forty-two grouping schemes that have been introduced in American schools or discussed by educational writers between the seventeenth century and 1970.[8] The rather extensive array of grouping patterns found currently in schools demonstrates that while the makeup of a given class or team of pupils can be the result of either deliberate policy or of chance factors, it is much more likely to be a result of the former. Once the members of a class or team have been designated, again both deliberate policy and chance explain the memberships of various subgroups (both permanent and temporary) within that class or team at any given moment. Heathers notes:

> A partial list of major sorts of grouping includes grade-level grouping; tracking students into different curricular sequences; ability or achievement-level grouping within a grade; assigning students to special classes; multiage or multigrade grouping; differential grouping subject to subject; flexible grouping according to students' capabilities with different learning activities; and numerous methods of interclass grouping. Most grouping practices are intended to produce classes that are relatively homogeneous in one or more characteristics related to learning. Some practices, however, seek to make the group heterogeneous in abilities, achievement, age, personal-social characteristics, etc.[9]

Arguments about homogeneous vs. heterogeneous grouping have been heated and continuous over many years. Although further study is needed, it does seem possible as of 1973 to claim that a desirable arrangement allows for both types of pupil-to-pupil contact to occur in each child's school life. Bolstered by successful experience with various forms of multiage (multigrade, interage) and cross-age grouping, usually but not exclusively within the context of a team teaching arrangement, educators have come to appreciate that children profit in different ways from interacting with other children. To be in the company of one or more children whose academic history and present attainments closely resemble one's own may be very helpful in the mastery of skills in such subjects as reading and arithmetic. On the other hand, other topics and problems acquire new and broader dimensions when approached in the company of learners whose backgrounds, temperaments, learning styles, and value systems may be quite different from one's own. Furthermore, one experiences a greater range of roles, such as followership and leadership, when his companions are sometimes more mature or knowledgeable and skilled and sometimes when less so. A school organization plan such as the multiaged team, which assures both heterogeneity (by mixing diverse populations) and homogeneity (in subgroups that can be selected within the total population), therefore seems preferable to those plans within which fewer children with less diverse characteristics are found.

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[7] Glen Heathers, "Grouping," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed., ed. Robert L. Ebel (London: Macmillan & Co., 1969), pp. 559-70.

[8] June Grant Shane et al., *Guiding Human Development: The Counselor and the Teacher in the Elementary School* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971), appendix A, pp. 383-89.

[9] Heathers, op. cit., p. 560.

This brings us, then, to a point at which a substantial number of the concepts underlying various existing school organization schemes have been mentioned:

1. For over a century the age-graded classroom taught by a single teacher has predominated.
2. The roots of this still dominant pattern are found in attitudes and values associated with the Puritan ethic, a view of children as uniformly capable of success given sufficient will, and a simplistic and didactic definition of the teacher's role.
3. For about twenty years, both theoretical and practical support for more flexible and humane edustructures has increased.
4. In the quest for more appropriate patterns, each wave of reformers tends not to build or capitalize sufficiently on prior efforts and experiences.
5. Nearly all of the newer organizational alternatives now under scrutiny and development are based on assumptions which repudiate the conventional age-graded arrangement.
6. Most of the new organizational alternatives assume that some form of departure from the literally self-contained classroom already has been made.
7. Various systematic approaches to individualized learning, including those based on programmed materials and those with computer facilitation, seem likely to come into more extensive use.

8. Organizational schemes of the future seem likely to achieve a good balance between independent work, small-group work, and class-wide experiences, with the latter emphasizing both heterogeneity and homogeneity in the pupil mix.

Alternatives to Conventional Schools

The preceding discussion focused on public or private elementary schools operating in conventional settings. Most of the "innovations" related to organization and staffing after the mid-1950s—teacher aides, programmed instruction, multiage pupil grouping, nongrading, team teaching, and the like—were implemented in such schools. The wave of criticism that came later in the 1960s was fueled both by the disappointing impact of such innovations and by the more serious charge that schools as presently constituted and defined are, to use a very mild word, unsuitable.

In addition to deploring the persistence and the inhumanity of the rigid age-graded lockstep, the authoritarian atmosphere that attends it, and the pressures on children to conform to the ethic it represents, radical critics of schooling pointed to the failures of the educational bureaucracy to understand and provide for the needs of the urban and rural poor, adult and child alike, to provide leadership for social reformation or revolution, and to revitalize the moribund enterprise that education had become. This reform movement eventually came to mean not only the effort to make changes within the system but also efforts to create alternatives to established education.

Today, there are hundreds of newly founded, nonpublic alternative schools, many at the elementary level and nearly all operating under difficult conditions (especially with respect to budget support and physical space), but nonetheless with high morale and high resolve. Parent and community involvement are key factors, as is the strong dedication of teachers to padagogical principles such as those outlined by Barth. Often these schools employ some form of differentiated staffing, at least with respect to the participation of lay people in the instructional program; and it is a rare alternative school that has not abandoned the age-graded structure to a significant extent. The flexible organizational structure of these schools, however, is probably less central to their mission than is the way they define their curriculum objectives (e.g., to emphasize minority group studies and urban problems) and the humane and positive atmosphere they seek to create.

Within public education two types of alternative school models are possible—one which calls for different kinds of schools to be established within the same school system and another which encourages several different arrangements to coexist within the same school. In the first model, parents have the option of sending their child to an open school, a free school, a black school, a team-teaching school, a highly conservative school, and so forth. In the second model, options of these sorts are available within the same building, at least to some extent. Both models have the effect of promoting healthy discussion among parents and teachers as to the variety of educational approaches that is possible and legitimate, given the many different needs of children. Neither model exists extensively, however, and most alternative schools tend to be privately operated.

The financial problems of nonpublic alternative schools might be reduced and a healthy challenge to tax-supported public schools would be posed, some critics claim, if efforts to develop an educational voucher system are successful. Through such a plan, parents could elect to spend their educational dollars in any school (or its equivalent) they choose. Not only locally operated alternative schools but schools run by other agencies or corporations (including profit-making companies) might be declared eligible to receive vouchers. Such a development, though not without problems, could lead to much more experimentation with new or different educational arrangements than has existed under conditions where the public school bureaucracy has a virtual monopoly on services and the majority of voters resist experimental or unfamiliar approaches.

Corollary Administrative Practices

For nearly half a century the scope of the American elementary school has resisted precise definition because of differing views and practices with respect to secondary education. Grades one through six, or their equivalent, serving children aged six through eleven or twelve usually have been included within the elementary school. The rise of interest in "middle schools" to replace the junior high school, however, has caused the sixth and even the fifth grade to be separated from the elementary level. On the other hand, there remain places where grades seven and eight are considered an integral part of the elementary school; in fact, many school districts which include grades one through eight are legally defined as elementary school units. Despite such inconsistencies in practice, however, the term *elementary education* probably connotes to most American educators a program for children up to entry into seventh grade.

At the lower level, wherever public tax-supported kindergarten offerings are available to five-year-old children, the kindergarten is typically seen as part of the elementary school. As it becomes more common for communities to offer prekindergarten educational services to children, it is at least possible that the preprimary phase of education will be combined with the kindergarten and primary years as "early childhood education"—phase 1 of elementary education.

Of the several educational frontiers being most actively explored in the early 1970s, probably none has generated more excitement or raised higher hopes than early childhood education. Major developments in early childhood education promise to have significant effects on the primary and intermediate levels of schooling. The presence of younger children will create different types of opportunities for pupil-pupil interaction, for the involvement of older pupils in a responsible relationship to younger children, for the utilization of many different kinds of adult workers in the life of the school, and for links with other community resources and agencies. The services provided to the younger children, particularly with respect to health and general intellectual development, should help to prepare them for higher levels of overall performance than was possible in the past. Also, early cognitive and affective experiences could profoundly alter the atmosphere and the program of the rest of the school.

Nearly all schools in the United States are closed in July and August, except perhaps for small-scale summer offerings. Typically, pupils follow a two-semester calendar between September and June and are permitted to enter the first grade (or its equivalent) in September of the calendar year in which their sixth birthday falls. There is a slight tendency, growing out of the expansion of preprimary education and also the philosophy of nongradedness, to pay less attention to birthdate requirements, but it will probably be some years before flexible admission policies, such as the British system of multiple entry dates, replace those generally in effect. Some districts have policies that call for assessment of pupil maturity in cases where the birthday falls within a few months of the established deadline, but again the philosophy of nongradedness seems to argue not for screening out the less mature but rather for accepting all comers and making appropriate educational provisions for each child.

Motivated primarily by the hope that school buildings can be used more efficiently and school construction needs can be reduced, some communities recently have been testing the notion of year-round schooling. Pupils attend school three-quarters of the year as usual but their vacations are staggered so that at any given moment one-fourth of the student body is on vacation while three-quarters are in school. Teachers have the option of earning as much as twelve weeks of extra pay if they teach during all four quarters, and generally there are traditional vacation weeks at Christmas, Easter, and in early summer for both students and faculty. One of the features of such schemes is that the curriculum must be arranged into smaller, less sequential, units more in keeping with current curriculum and organization philosophy. A necessity in many places is air conditioning to increase the comfort and productivity of students in the warm months.

Whether or not such a scheme gains in popularity, Americans in recent years have faced many important decisions about planning and maintenance of school plants. Although the typical elementary school probably has rather limited facilities for physical education, art, music, performing arts, and library services, a strong trend over the past twenty years has been to include space for them in school plants. Often, compromises are necessary, such as making a standard classroom-size module into the library, combining either physical education or auditorium space or both with the cafeteria-lunchroom area, or using a converted basement space or other renovated areas for one or more of the special functions. Sometimes, however, the community chooses to provide unusually good facilities either because it has learned to appreciate the educational value of the creative-expressive disciplines and the library, or because it wishes to have such spaces available outside school hours for general community use.

Probably the two most notable and widespread architectural trends in school layout have been the adoption of open-space-classroom designs and instructional materials centers (or multimedia centers). According to one survey, a substantial majority of the elementary schools built since approximately 1968 have used an open-space design. Examination of the floor plans of such schools [10] confirms that they usually have a king-size library or instructional materials center (IMC) in a central location, as well as classroom clusters which are the equivalent of three, four, five, six, or more classrooms and which may or may not have partial walls or operable partitions permitting conversion to more conventional space. In such schools, development of the concept of open education within a team-equipped framework is somewhat easier and, experience suggests, more likely.

Staffing in the Elementary School

An important personnel trend is summarized in such terms as *team teaching* and *differentiated staffing*, the latter embracing another trend, the growing involvement of auxiliaries and volunteers in the personnel structure of the school. These trends have been extensively discussed in the literature [11] and will be only briefly summarized here.

At present, employment opportunities for teachers no longer are expanding and in some school districts are diminishing due to a lower birthrate and financial problems. Because of these trends, the use of lower-salaried and lesser-trained persons to handle tasks traditionally performed only by certified teachers may seem odd and even retrogressive. However, both society, which pays the bills, and the dignity and challenge of the teaching role suffer when college-educated and professionally trained persons must perform uncomplicated, routine, or otherwise undemanding duties.

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[10] See *Open Space Schools: A Report of the AASA Commission on Open Space Schools* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1971), p. 112; see also *The Open Plan School*, Report of a National Seminar cosponsored by Educational Facilities Laboratories and |I|D|E|A| (Dayton, Ohio: |I|D|E|A|, 1971).

[11] For examples see J. T. Shaplin and H. F. Olds, eds., *Team Teaching* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); *Differentiated Staffing in Schools*, Education U.S.A. Special Report (Washington, D.C.: National School Public Relations Association, 1970).

As salary levels for teachers rise to proper levels, the waste and faulty logic of such practices become all the more obvious. In medicine and other professions, a proliferation of supporting roles has greatly increased both the effectiveness and the market value of the top professional's services. Teaching, too, can become a far more prestigious and remunerative vocation when jobs in the school are differentiated according to a scale of difficulty and teachers function primarily at the top levels with supervisory responsibilities for a junior staff.

The differentiated staff (top-level team leaders or master teachers; middle-level teacher specialists; junior-level teachers, interns, and teachers-in-training; several levels of paraprofessionals, technicians, and volunteers) in a school might provide more effective services at no greater cost than the conventional arrangement. Presumably, the flow of workers into the various roles would be regulated in part by more careful screening and in part by the normal demand-supply cycle. There probably would be fewer teachers in relation to every thousand pupils, but they would enjoy higher status and be better paid. At the same time, more dignified and rewarding employment would be open in the paraprofessional ranks for persons with less extensive backgrounds, and the taxpayer would have not only a more reasonable cost burden but probably a greater sense of value received.

To strengthen the effectiveness of educational services, far more effort must be exerted in the field of staff development. Provision for the in-service growth and reeducation of teachers and other professional school employees rarely has been a vigorous or well-conceived enterprise in American education. Funding has been low, leadership and resources limited, and approaches usually unimaginative and impractical. They usually have been planned for after-school hours or, at best, for half or full days squeezed into the busy school calendar. Provisions for sabbatical study also have been rare and of benefit to only a tiny fraction of the staff. University course work has been of limited value, and even extramural courses offered specifically for teachers of a local school system rarely meet with more than mixed success. In most schools the supervision services offered by the principal are unsatisfactory with respect to the facilitation and inspiration of staff growth, and the climate and working patterns of the school do little to influence or stimulate professional study and thought.

Among the more powerful arguments in support of team teaching of virtually every variety extant is that it both facilitates and requires a higher level of professional conversation. To a degree that one rarely finds elsewhere, teachers in team-organized schools find it necessary to discuss curriculum goals, pupil needs and progress, teaching strategies, and course content. Unfortunately, team teachers share the same problems of limited time and complexity of task that beleaguer their self-contained counterparts. Despite the considerable professional growth advantage that they enjoy in a team context, they, too, have unsatisfied needs for in-service training.

A start has been made toward meeting this problem at the federal level through the support of research and development (R & D) centers, regional laboratories, and a variety of other state and local efforts. Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have begun to concentrate on in-service training, as have their state and local affiliates. There appears to be some promise in the idea of teachers' centers as recently developed in Britain.[12] Also of potential help is the growth of differentiated staffing, which brings extra hands into the school, allowing teachers more time to devote to professional planning and study. Even the adoption of a year-round school calendar could be a boon if school districts would finance professional planning and curriculum work for teachers in the off-teaching cycle. Unfortunately, it seems probable that in-service education is destined to be a neglected and undersupported activity for at least another decade.

The burden, therefore, will fall largely on the shoulders of local school principals to make imaginative and efficient use of the resources that they control, e.g., to initiate or develop policies that permit teachers to visit other schools, take time off for local curriculum work, or rearrange their work loads so that more nonteaching time becomes available. They also need a budget item for teacher aides and substitute teachers. Implicit in much of this chapter has been the concept that the school principalship is in many ways the key role in education. Therefore, it seems increasingly urgent that ways be found for protecting the educational leadership dimensions of the role, reducing the "administrivial" distractions (or escape routes) that interfere with the exercise of such leadership, and insuring that only personally effective, well-qualified people enter and remain in the principalship.

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[12] Stephen K. Bailey, "Teachers' Centers: A British First," *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (1971): 146-49.

Colleges and universities similarly have an obligation to reconsider the relevance and the mechanics of their intramural instruction as well as their extramural role, and the profession itself must take a firmer stance not only with respect to negotiating for appropriate in-service growth opportunities, but with respect to demanding evidence of professional growth effort on the part of its members.

The Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. (|I|D|E|A|), an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, has developed a change strategy which incorporates in part a kind of built-in program of faculty in-service education. The key unit for change in the system is the individual school which is subdivided into units in line with the recommendations of Klausmeier and his associates.[13] Each school is linked to other schools in a total social system committed to educational change. The whole is then served by a hub which provides communication among the schools, including information about where teachers may secure help from other teachers within the system.[14] The current change strategy promotes individually guided education (IGE) through a self-improvement package consisting of sound films, filmstrips and cassettes, and printed materials to be used as training resources in individual schools and clusters of schools throughout the system (see chap. 14).

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[13] Herbert J. Klausmeier, "The Multiunit Elementary School and Individually Guided Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (1971): 181-84; Herbert J. Klausmeier, Juanita S. Sorenson, and Mary R. Quilling, "Instructional Programming for the Individual Pupil in the Multiunit Elementary School," *Elementary School Journal* 72 (1971): 88-101.

[14] John I. Goodlad, "Educational Change: A Strategy for Study and Action," *National Elementary Principal* 48 (January 1969): 6-13.

Of special interest in IGE is the coordinating and planning mechanism known as the instructional improvement committee (IIC), usually chaired by the principal and including all of the team or unit leaders in the school. Meeting at least an hour each week, this group makes the major decisions affecting the school program and is the chief agency for interschool communication. It deals with schoolwide problems, the development of priorities, the establishment of operational guidelines, and matters of evaluation. As such, it not only facilitates the achievement of the school's objectives but also provides a framework within which the principal and the unit leaders have unusual opportunities for personal and professional growth and development.

Given resources and mechanisms that facilitate the process of change and, more importantly, given an appropriate sense of urgency in school reform, the staffs in most elementary schools are capable of making greater improvements than they have thus far dared or cared to try. More flexible organizational and staffing arrangements are not ends in themselves, nor do they guarantee that better instructional services will be offered to children. However, even the critics who make this point seem for the most part persuaded that if such arrangements were in effect, the prospect of an appropriate educational environment would be significantly enhanced.

Some Problems in Evaluation

Although emerging patterns of staffing and organizing schools hold much promise for the future, the complexity of the task of evaluating them and the general inadequacy of traditional research approaches create difficulties.[15]

That there has not been vigorous evaluation of the new organizational schemes is due in part to the multiplicity of variables and the difficulties in handling them within a research design. It stems also from the fact that traditional evaluation has usually been linked to pupil goals and objectives. However, although school organization is instrumental to pupil learning, it must be evaluated by criteria pertaining to principles of good organization in its own right, over and above the variables that may be measured in children. Unfortunately, too, in most of the so-called research efforts, the work is done eagerly by protagonists (who understandably lack objectivity), without sufficient participation by experts in research design. As a result, the bulk of available research suffers serious weaknesses.

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[15] John I. Goodlad, "Thought, Invention and Research in the Advancement of Education," *Educational Forum* 33 (November 1963): 7-18.

In the traditional design, in which pupil behavior is the dependent variable and the pattern of school organization is the independent variable, the tendency is to evaluate that pattern on the basis of whether or not it appears to hasten more or better pupil learning. There are at least two problems with this approach. First, the evaluators may not know, or pay no attention to, whether the independent variable *actually existed* in the school or whether it existed in a sufficiently pure form to be credited with change or discredited for no change. Consequently, the evaluator may conclude that nongrading, team teaching, or other variables made no difference to the learning of the pupil, when the independent variable in question simply did not exist in the school!

The second problem is equally serious. Organizational arrangements are gross interventions at best. It is not to be expected that team teaching, for example, will make an immediate impact on pupil learning. Rather, it changes the behavior of teachers in a number of ways and facilitates certain other educational operations. These are attributes worth promoting, whether or not they make any early difference in pupil learning.

Ultimately, then, the question arises as to whether teachers who behave in certain new ways will affect children's behavior. Now, teacher behavior becomes the dependent variable and the pattern of school organization becomes the independent variable. This is a very different research design than when the pupil behavior is dependent and school organization independent. In effect, teacher behavior can then be studied as an independent variable affecting pupil behavior—the dependent variable.

It is to be hoped that future research will take more completely into account the problems that have been briefly described. Meanwhile, school personnel entering into new patterns of school organization need to be more conscious of what they are doing and develop various plans of self-evaluation which will make it possible to determine whether or not expectations are being met. These self-evaluative activities and skills are quite within the capabilities of school staffs. The cumulative usefulness of the data obtained could be of great value in the search for better ways of organizing schools.

CHAPTER X

The School's Curriculum

WILMA S. LONGSTREET

The Keynote: Objectives

The sixties were years of proposals for educational innovation unprecedented in the United States. Society placed inordinate demands on the educational system, and there was, at first, a universal willingness to meet these demands and confidence that they could be met. The elementary school was a focal point in the drive for renewal as it was recognized increasingly that the experiences of childhood are crucial to the intellectual and social behavior of the adult. It was theorized that if the former could be improved significantly, the latter would increase in quality. Yet, while scholastic changes were generally accepted as necessities, their potential impact upon the traditions of the educational establishment and their relationship to national goals were neither cogently analyzed nor squarely faced.

Although an array of new programs was proposed and developed, the compatibility of new guiding concepts with traditional structures and objectives of education was only superficially considered. Repeatedly, in the sixties, innovative programs were developed only to be stifled by long-standing traditions when they reached the schools. Although many educators declared their willingness to adopt reforms, the basic organization of the elementary school rarely was modified to make it more congruent with and more supportive of new instructional approaches (see chapter 9). The subject-centered curriculum continued (as it still does) to dominate the public school at all grade levels. The evaluation of outcomes continued (as it still does) to take the form of standardized tests administerd to millions of youngsters, with graded norms the basis for judging performance. New approaches to evaluation were slow to enter school practice.

BASIC CURRICULUM DESIGNS

Four basic curriculum designs, with minor variations, dominated the elementary and secondary schools of the United States during the sixties, as they had for decades. These can be characterized by the nature of the objectives which each design conveys.

The *subject-oriented curriculum* places its primary emphasis upon the learning of specialized content derived from such disciplines as biology, physics, literature, and the like. Objectives, whether or not stated precisely, stress substance and processes in the subjects selected.

At the elementary school level, broad-field subjects such as general science, social studies, and language arts are the major vehicles for such specialized study. Content is derived from each of the several disciplines and studied in a prescribed sequence; for instance, in general science, the weather (meteorology), plant growth (biology), or the harnessing of power from rivers (physics) might be units of study during the school term. The concepts employed are drawn from each discipline as it relates to the topic.

The choice regarding what is to be studied lies mostly outside and independent of the child. Of course, the content studied is held to be good for both the child and society.

The *interdisciplinary curriculum* also places its stress upon substance and processes from organized knowledge but modifies the organization so that learnings are brought together in generalizations derived from several disciplines simultaneously. Rather than studying the weather from the perspective of one of the sciences, the influence of weather, geographic environment, and the harnessing of new kinds of energy might be fused in tracing the complex origins and growth of a city or even of a nation. Problems rather than disciplines tend to determine the design of the curriculum.

The choice regarding what is to be studied is again mostly independent of the child. The objectives emphasize use of concepts, processes, and generalizations within and between disciplines and usually include competence in problem-solving.

The *child-oriented curriculum* subordinates the selection of content to the interests, abilities, and needs of the individual child, although the importance of subject matter certainly is not denigrated. Children usually participate actively in selecting what to study. The teacher and prepared materials continue to play an important role but are intended to supplement and stimulate the child's interests rather than shape the curriculum.

In its purest form, the objectives of this approach can only be "discovered" as each child reveals his interests and needs. Objectives emerge out of the cues presented by children, individually and in groups. This approach sometimes has been referred to as "the emerging curriculum." Undoubtedly, the teacher has some predetermined notions about what is desirable and undesirable to develop in the children, but the actual activities engaged in each day emerge out of planning with the children and encouraging them to pose and select among alternatives.

The *socially-oriented curriculum* places its stress upon studying or participating in a social group—usually a community—molding the content so that it will help the young learn to function well in the group and later, presumably, in the larger society. Children's needs, interests, and abilities influence curriculum selection but the focus is the larger society or some segment of it.

Community problems and the learning of skills considered most responsive to community-felt needs are frequently part of the curriculum content. Objectives also may include the alleviation of undesirable group conditions by educating the young to eliminate such conditions. The determination of what is "desirable" may come from within or outside of the community.

In this approach, a course in economics might deal with those financial transactions particularly important to neighborhood living rather than with abstract economic laws. Another course might develop around the problem of discrimination. Still another might have students go out into the neighborhood and work on some worthwhile community project. Vocational training in mechanics, typing, and the like might also be a part of a socially-oriented curriculum.

None of these four curriculum designs was unique to the sixties. All were present throughout the 1900s in theory as well as in practice, although there can be little doubt but that the subject-oriented curriculum dominated the century. In the sixties, with the fervor of reform, each was given a new slant at the elementary school level.

Moreover, the influence of each program design upon the other programs was considerable, and curriculum variants resulting from their interaction often were developed. The substantial financial resources made available by the federal government spurred the development of innovative proposals and programs.

LEVELS OF OBJECTIVES: FROM IDEALS TO THE CLASSROOM

Goals and objectives, implicit and explicit, exist at different levels of generality and specificity, each level usually representing the interests of different groups of lay and professional decision-makers.[1] In a fully rational and internally consistent educational structure, there would be a close congruence between and among levels. The fact that there is not is both the weakness and the strength of formal education in this country.

There are broad, overarching goals which are designed to give general direction and purpose. These frequently are couched in such vague terms that internal incompatibility is not immediately apparent. For example, an educational goal of society may be the development of "good citizens." The same society may also give a high priority to "independent thinking." However, good citizenship and independent thinking can sometimes be in conflict. If a ten-year-old "independent thinker" challenges the pollution created by a factory which provides a substantial livelihood to most of the inhabitants of the community, he may come to be regarded not as a clear thinker or a good citizen but as a future troublemaker. Such broad goals as "good citizenship" have many interpretations and must be more precisely defined.

One way of so doing is through defining intermediate objectives which serve as translators of more general terms. When a sequence of courses is decided upon for a level of schooling, the objectives of these courses presumably serve this translating function. These "translator" objectives may be changed as the perceptions of society change without necessarily modifying the broader ideals. For instance, to give a child a well-rounded education once meant having him study Latin and theology. Today, a wide range of subjects is believed to contribute to such a goal. Curriculum designs for schools are the planned "translations" of the ideals of a society into educational practice.

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[1] For a comprehensive analysis see John I. Goodlad (with Maurice N. Richter, Jr.), *The Development of a Conceptual System for Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction*, Cooperative Research Program, U.S. Office of Education, Contract No. SAE-8024, Project No. 454, Los Angeles: University of California, 1966.

Within each classroom, a third level of goals can be found which, in essence, is the product of the teacher's interpretation of the objectives set for a course fused with his understanding of the ideals underlying the entire educational system and more specific knowledge pertaining to immediate circumstances. While *what* is taught is generally organized by course objectives, *how* teaching is carried on is only partially influenced by course objectives and is heavily dependent upon the teacher's perceptions and personal biases toward the content and the children, as well as upon the prescribed books and other media used. The teacher's influence, especially in the elementary school, upon program objectives is incalculable. Responses to even the most open-ended question can be directed toward certain outcomes with an approving smile or a listless reaction.

The overall goals, the translator objectives, and the in-class objectives may be in contradiction to each other, and, especially in a period of innovation, such contradictions may go unrecognized. For instance, the achievement of scientific creativity, an ideal objective, is not necessarily compatible with the ongoing, in-class study of a scientific discipline, since studying a discipline and being creative in a discipline may be two quite different undertakings.

The clarification of objectives at all three of these levels is necessary to both a high level of success and valid evaluation of school programs. Program evaluations based on criteria which are only secondary to the major goals of a new program or which typify the objectives of traditional programs have led repeatedly to unwarranted conclusions of failure or success. The development of effective programs depends heavily not only on keen awareness of overarching goals, translator objectives, and instructional objectives, but also on awareness of the relationships between traditional objectives and objectives inherent in new curricula.

Evaluation of Reform

The inadequacy of evaluation played no small part in the rather skeptical attitude toward reform which typified the first few years of the seventies. In the final analysis, the results of a program must be measured against anticipated outcomes for children. If one asks if objectives were met, then logically one must search out the objectives intended. The necessity to evaluate the effectiveness of programs on the basis of their objectives was generally unheeded in the sixties, while massive evaluations were undertaken with tests designed to evaluate traditional goals of educational achievement. Unless there is an all-out effort to clarify objectives at every level of education and to evaluate both curricular plans and outcomes in relation to these objectives, curricular reforms are unlikely to be either internally consistent or understood in relation to existing practices.

Intensified interest in compensatory and early childhood education provides an example. A well-known study by Arthur Jensen concluded that existing compensatory programs could achieve only minimal gains in overall IQ ratings and that teaching basic skills would be better than attempting to boost overall cognitive development. Jensen describes the intelligence quotient as a measure specifically devised to determine the probable success of youngsters in the usual school subjects under the usual scholastic conditions:

> At least implicit in the [educational system] as it originally developed was the expectation that not all children would succeed. . . . These methods of schooling have remained essentially unchanged for many generations. We have accepted traditional instruction so completely that it is extremely difficult even to imagine, much less to put into practice, any radically different forms that the education of children could take.[2]

A number of critics have given battle to Jensen and similar scientific investigations by countering that IQs can indeed be raised, so we must spare no effort to this end. Few have questioned whether raising IQ is the proper objective of the new programs. Accepting the IQ as a major criterion for the evaluation of programs is tantamount to accepting established school formats within the subject-oriented curriculum design.

Admittedly, the IQ is related to the acquisition of cognitive skills as fostered and required traditionally by the school. It is debatable, however, whether the results of standardized intelligence and achievement tests relate significantly to such qualities as inventiveness, creativity, imaginative problem-solving, and cogent involvement in the ongoing functions of social institutions—qualities often sought in new programs. The implicit commitment to the conventional subject-centered curriculum, especially in the elementary schools, was precisely what was being challenged in the sixties. At the same time, as shown in the above illustration, evaluation procedures remained geared to long-standing academic goals in the subject fields.

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[2] Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" *Harvard Educational Review* 39 (1969): 7.

Recent Curricular Reforms: A Perspective

The curriculum reform movement beginning in the 1950s was at first a countercycle to the 1940s and 1930s. Academic deficiencies among high school graduates brought to light in the large-scale testing program of World War II were laid in large part at the door of Progressive education, which appeared to some critics to be the most likely culprit. The year 1951 was pivotal, witnessing the publication of a clutch of books addressed in part to "soft pedagogy" and "life-adjustment education." In 1955 the Progressive Education Association quietly closed its doors[3] (see chapter 3).

Throughout the decade of the fifties, criticism continued to be leveled at the inadequacies of the elementary schools. Rickover traced the failure of American schools to low academic standards.[4] Conant saw the need for improvement in the quality of teacher preparation and certification, in the selection of courses available, in the reorganization of state education departments, and so forth.[5] In essence, Conant and Rickover and other critics of the time were supportive of the subject-centered elementary and secondary curriculum as traditionally present in American education. It was their premise that higher academic achievement would be attained with concentration on the basic subjects.

Due in part to the launching of Sputnik in 1957, a major goal

[3] For an analysis of the roots of recent curricular reform see John I. Goodlad, "Schooling and Education," in *The Great Ideas Today* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1969), pp. 103-12.

[4] Hyman Rickover, *Education and Freedom* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959); idem, *Swiss Schools and Ours* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1962).

[5] James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1959); idem, *The Education of American Teachers* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963); idem, *Shaping Educational Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964).

at the national level became the improvement of technological productivity as this related to the defense of the nation. Concerns over advancement by the U.S.S.R. permeated legislative discussion and action. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 was a direct result of this concern and an equally direct commitment of the federal government to specific directions for education in the United States. The national goals which evolved were primarily cognitive in character. Initially, they also were elitist in that efforts were directed toward developing the gifted to the maximum of their ability. Concentration on the secondary school level subsequently shifted to the lower years and, by the late 1960s, especially to the primary and preschool years. Bloom's summary and analysis of longitudinal studies suggesting the educational significance of the early years[6] was as influential during the second half of the sixties as Bruner's analysis of learning[7] had been during the first half. The lower schools increasingly became a focus of attention.

It is clear that, in the very late fifties and early sixties, reform was directed toward improving the educational system's output within the framework of its established structures. This meant that improvement was to take place within the different subjects. The effort to extend education to all was qualified by the concept of "able" as defined by the scholars. Compensation for environments which, because of poverty, offered youngsters too few experiences of a useful nature for school learning was perceived as a viable goal of reform. *A change either in the system itself, or in the traditional curriculum design, or in the student's relationships to the system was not found in federal legislation prior to 1960.*

Recent Curricular Reforms: Projects in Science and Mathematics

Some leading scientists and mathematicians had already begun to explore upgrading the teaching of their fields at the high school level when the launching of Sputnik quickly brought about what rational argument would have required years to accomplish. The

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[6] Benjamin S. Bloom, *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

[7] Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

National Science Foundation (created in 1950) became the vehicle for expressing national concern for curricular reform in those fields thought to be particularly close to the nation's interests. It financed curricular reform projects sponsored by academicians through a variety of special studies and committees. These were discipline- or subject-centered in their approach and design.

NDEA originally applied to science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages for both elementary and secondary education. It was only in 1964 that it was amended to encompass history, civics, geography, English (including its elementary school companion, language arts), and reading. It was extended twice and finally expired in June 1968.

Science and mathematics projects were begun in the mid-fifties. A few of these projects concentrated upon the improvement of science and mathematics teaching in the elementary schools. Among the most widely known of these are: the Elementary Science Study (ESS) developed by Educational Services, Inc.; the Minnesota Mathematics and Science Teaching Project (MINNEMAST) developed at the University of Minnesota; the Science Curriculum Improvement Study (SCIS) developed by the Berkeley campus of the University of California; the work developed by the Commission on Science Education of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS); the School Mathematics Study Group (SMSG), which began its efforts at the secondary level and then extended to the elementary school with substantial influence upon mathematics curricula; and the Elementary School Science Project (ESSP) developed at the University of Illinois.

Almost without exception, the science and mathematics programs, directed by scholars in the fields, held the acquisition of skills and processes as well as their creative use to be more important than the learning of a specific content with fixed sets of principles. In other words, there was a reaction to the traditional, fact-oriented ways of teaching science and mathematics in which the acquisition of information was a foremost objective of the educational system. For example, the SCIS program envisioned the elementary school classroom as a laboratory equipped with selected materials that became the basis for three types of teaching lessons: (a) exploration, (b) invention, and (c) discovery. The MINNE-

MAST project produced units for grade one that included "Observing Properties," "Describing Locations," and "Interpretations of Addition and Subtraction." The instructional materials of AAAS were developed around the conception of a hierarchy of skills such as observing and classifying.

It should be kept in mind that well before the advent of the federal projects, elementary and junior high school subjects had been influenced by the core and fused-curricula designs combining the disciplines. These brought the content of closely related disciplines together so that similarities and interrelationships could be more logically understood. In essence, the different disciplines were treated as separate units but placed under the same heading, e.g., general science, and language arts. With the shifting of the central objectives from information acquisition to conceptual and creative involvement in basic processes, the extended subject-centered curriculum began to be transformed at the elementary school level into an interdisciplinary curriculum which ignored the boundaries of the different science disciplines.

At first, the intention of the scholars involved in the science projects was to update the content of elementary and secondary school science. It was not long before some realized that explicit ways of controlling and manipulating information had to be taught if any integrity of content was to be achieved. *This significant shift in program objectives from factual acquisition to process and concept acquisition inevitably meant a profound restructuring of the conception of what was educationally valuable.* In elementary science, both scientific method and rationality itself became the objectives, and their applications were as broad as life. The influence on the student's in-class relationship to the teacher as well as on his view of textbooks and scholarly authority was immeasurable. The teacher and books were no longer unquestionable distributors of truth. Instead, they were to be questioned, tested, and doubted. Even the youngest pupils were to be given the sense of their own ability to reason and discover rather than led to depend on the teacher. Unfortunately, this perspective reached relatively few classrooms.

Although the in-class objectives of each project differed from the others significantly, the shift to concepts and inquiry processes of learning was basic to most and implied a substantial departure from conventional instructional methods. For instance, the AAAS classroom materials were ordered in a fixed sequence which required the students to pass from one concept to another in a hierarchical ordering, while the ESS materials provided units which could be arranged in varying ways and were available at any time to students. In both programs, however, a major objective was to have academic authority and textbooks become secondary to the student's own conceptual involvement. In the classroom, this essentially meant a shift in the role of the student from that of a *passive consumer* of authoritative knowledge (including the pronouncements of the teacher) to that of an *active producer* of concepts and generalizations. If the student was to gain greater competence in the use of his conceptual skills, *then the traditional student-teacher relationship and the ways the teacher imparted his knowledge would have to be changed.* In practice, however, public school teachers tended to adopt the new materials without essentially modifying their traditional ways of teaching. The new processes and perspectives dropped by the wayside.

Some of the project directors recognized the need for teacher preparation. ESS, for instance, made use of workshops, summer institutes, seminars, and the like to help teachers familiarize themselves with the materials. In particular, ESS had found that "arranging for teachers to work with the new materials much as children would is one of the most effective methods of teacher preparation." [8] The efforts at teacher preparation, however, were too sparse and short-lived to be truly effective.

During the 1950s and early 1960s scholars had assumed that if the general stages of disciplined intellectual development were understood, course structure could be molded accordingly and the conceptual and creative involvement of the student assured. What had not been sufficiently recognized was that knowledge of a discipline's structure could not serve as an accurate prediction of the readiness or intellectual levels of specific students. Likewise, teachers, on the whole, were not ready. Neither their own educational experiences nor their teacher education programs had prepared them for the kind of flexibility required for discovery learning. A brief seminar might familiarize teachers with new ways of thinking about instruction, but it could hardly modify the long inculcation that most of them had undergone. The operational distinctions between a truly open-ended mode of teaching and the Socratic or "leading" mode of teaching were not often clarified. Teachers frequently were not even aware of which mode they were using. Creative ideas from students frequently were not recognized by teachers who tended to view the learning of fixed sets of facts as fundamental.

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[8] John I. Goodlad et al., *The Changing School Curriculum* (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1966), p. 53.

Dealing with basic concepts and encouraging discovery involved a new way of teaching for which the average elementary teacher was totally unprepared. As a consequence, few teachers were able to achieve consistency between their teaching and the objectives of the new programs. Goodlad and his colleagues visited some 260 classrooms in thirteen states, finding that "teaching was predominantly telling and questioning by the teacher, with children responding one-by-one or occasionally in chorus." [9] This is the direct antithesis not only of the objectives of the science and mathematics projects but also of recent curricular reform generally.

The techniques of inductive teaching, though still scarce in public school practice, increasingly have been introduced into teacher education courses. What seems not yet fully recognized is the personalization of teaching which is implicit in an inductive form of instruction emphasizing pupil discovery. If the pupil is to discover for himself, to reason based on his own perceptions and capacities, the teacher must consider each child's unique personal qualities. The need to vary from pupil to pupil, far less apparent in passive or receptive learning where all pupils are involved in the simultaneous activity of listening, is vital to any course positing discovery learning as one of its main objectives. This personalization of instruction, however, was not brought into theoretical consistency with the objectives of the process-oriented science programs. Considerable tension can be generated between a content-oriented curriculum and a personalization of teaching which recognizes as paramount the student's perspectives and abilities. This is true whether the curriculum design is interdisciplinary or subject-centered, whether concepts and processes are emphasized or factual acquisition is foremost. *It is obvious that the science and mathematics projects had become involved in changes not merely within the system but of the system itself.* The importance of this development can scarcely be overestimated as one views elementary school programs of the 1960s or as one seeks to understand and effect educational change (see chapter 14).

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[9] John I. Goodlad, "Schooling and Education," (Unpublished paper, 1969), pp. 52-53. See also, John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein and Associates, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970).

The changes implied in the science and mathematics projects rendered traditional modes of evaluation inadequate. Victor's complaint, voiced in 1968, was not unjustified:

> One of the major criticisms of many of the projects is their failure to provide for adequate evaluation. Too much consideration is being given to the testimonials of classroom teachers who are using the exercises and units. Too much importance is being attached to the enthusiasm of the children. This seems to hold true especially in the case of scientists and science professors. . . . They don't see this kind of enthusiasm in the classes they teach at the college level.[10]

Even now there are few guidelines for the development of tests to measure the kind of creative manipulation of processes and skills which the projects have placed foremost among their objectives. The AAAS program, with its ordered sequence and clearly stated objectives, did devise methods for short-term evaluation of pupil achievement, but the more open-ended, freewheeling designs of ESS and MINNEMAST were hard pressed to do even that. It is demanding, to say the least, to "measure" the imaginative use of concepts and skills when the responses are set beforehand or if they are dependent upon the evaluator recognizing that a response is "creative." Many of the evaluations of new programs would have been appropriate to the traditional subject-oriented approach, but were utterly inadequate for the objectives and curriculum designs of the programs as they were conceived.

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[10] Edward Victor, "Present Programs and Major Curriculum Developments in Elementary School Science—A Critique," in *Elementary Education in the Seventies: Implications for Theory and Practice*, ed. William W. Joyce, Robert G. Oana, and W. Robert Houston (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), p. 156.

Recent Curricular Reforms: Projects in English, Language Arts, and Reading

The curriculum revisions taking place in the sciences and mathematics were well publicized and substantially influenced reform in other fields. This certainly was true in regard to federally funded centers planning English curricula.

Two factors in particular sparked the work of these centers: the Brunerian concept that every subject had a core structure which could be taught in progressively more complex forms,[11] and the devastating criticisms in Lynch and Evans's *High School English Textbooks: A Critical Examination*,[12] which characterized English classroom reading materials as no better than a collection of newspaper items and depicted language composition books as extremely dull.

The thrust of many of the centers was to find "an inner structure in English"[13] which could become the basis of a sequential and cumulative program and which would permit students to enter the subject at an ever more complex level. Since English is not a discipline in the sense that biology or physics is—that is, possessing a set of logically ordered, cohesive principles which, when used in certain ways, produce literary knowledge[14]—the development of core structures by the different centers covered a wide gamut of interpretations. While the emphasis on process and conceptualization had extended the scholastic study of sciences to encompass procedures and knowledge that were valid outside the sciences, the effort to give English a structure actually had the converse effect of limiting the open-ended nature of English. That is, English was made to fit the traditional conception of "subject" even more than it had earlier in the century. The study of English as a heterogeneous collection of experiences in written and oral expression could be as vast and as personal as life itself in the hands of a teacher well attuned to his students. Restrictions imposed for the sake of greater rationality and completeness may not have taken into account the subjective, noncognitive aspects of English. This was especially true for elementary language arts programs developed in some of the centers. The Anglo-American Conference on the Teaching and Learning of English, held at Dartmouth College in 1966, did affirm that literature, taken in its broadest sense, should serve as the core for the liberation and development of students' imaginations.[15] However, when the concept of language as a freeing agent was combined with the search for valid structure in English, the latter tended to prevail. Many of the English projects, in their quest for structure, were tending to become more subject-oriented and, to a degree, "precious."

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[11] Bruner, op. cit., p. 33.

[12] James J. Lynch and Bertrand Evans, *High School English Textbooks: A Critical Examination* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1963).

[13] Michael Shugrue, *English in a Decade of Change* (New York: Western Publishing Co. [Pegasus], 1968), p. 30.

[14] While grammar does possess such a set of logically ordered, cohesive principles, in the past fifty years it has comprised a minor portion of English studies in the United States.

Among the tightly structured materials to come forth were the sequenced curriculum design from kindergarten to the first year of college developed by the University of Nebraska and the K-12 language arts curriculum developed at the University of Wisconson. The elementary school units for literature designed by the Nebraska Curriculum Development Center are an example of this increased effort to structure English in cumulative, sequenced fashion. Selections were divided into nine categories so that a complete range of literary production would be dealt with at each of the six grade levels. The categories are Folk, Fanciful, Animal, Adventure, Myth, Fable, Other Lands and People, Historical, and Biography. Among the works selected are *Little Black Sambo* (Fanciful—Grade 1), *How the Camel Got His Hump* (Animal—Grade 2), *Winnie the Pooh* (Adventure—Grade 3), *Pyramus and Thisbe* (Myth—Grade 5), *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist* (Biography—Grade 5), and *King Arthur* (Historical—Grade 6). From just this brief listing of the selections, it is clear that social and intellectual differences in youngsters had little to do with the choices made.

Notwithstanding the production of units on the generative rhetoric of the sentence, the materials developed by the University of Nebraska fit perfectly into the traditional elementary classroom structure, with the student primarily a consumer of the knowledge passed on to him by experts. The program objectives, which sought to achieve conceptualizations of English phenomena comparable to those of the sciences, required little real change either of in-class structure or of the subject-oriented curriculum. The reading selections were made on the cognitive basis of literary quality. In this sense, the program objectives were not synchronized with the new social emphases that were becoming apparent, for example, in the 1964-1965 Head Start legislation. Furthermore, the increased stress on a scientifically descriptive grammar (as opposed to the traditionally prescriptive grammar) could not achieve the conceptual involvement of students as well as the science and mathematics projects had done because the new transformational grammar was still in a natal state and extremely difficult for the average teacher to understand. Moreover, the imaginative use of language, literary originality, and the like are of a different nature from scientific and mathematical creativity. The former can exist in unliterary and/or "free" expression; the latter must be expressed in scientific or mathematical terms of considerable stability and accuracy and must be logically developed.

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[15] Shugrue, op. cit., p. 22.

In fairness, it should be recognized that some of the projects in English did endeavor to build on the student's needs and interests. In particular, Marjorie Smiley's Gateway program, developed at Hunter College for fifth- to ninth-grade students, based its reading selections on the interests of young learners and their problems. Literature was conceived as a means for achieving "emotional independence and maturity."[16] "Discovery" was interpreted as the discovery of oneself. The units revolved around such affective topics as, "A Family Is a Way of Feeling," "Who Am I?" and "Coping." The Gateway program was one of the few to come out of the twenty-four federally sponsored English curriculum centers which was both open-ended and student-centered.

For the most part, elementary language arts has remained on the periphery of national attention. However, frequently one of its components, such as listening or reading, receives extraordinary attention as in the federally sponsored Right to Read program. Language arts also comprised the major input of Head Start programs, but the countless local variations have made their description and consideration an impossible task. While the rather tightly structured curricula offered by the Nebraska and Wisconsin English centers were generally unpopular among teachers,[17] no other design or general thrust has come forth to change essentially what has been done in the elementary language arts classroom for decades.

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[16] Marjorie Smiley, director, *Teacher's Manual to Gateway English* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), p. 1.

The compensatory language arts programs have had the greatest diffusion. Most of these have been based on the belief that the backgrounds of disadvantaged children were linguistically "restricted," to use Bernstein's terminology.[18] The Bereiter-Engelmann program[19] with its structured, almost military approach to the content, permitting the child few digressions or distractions, is the extreme development of a subject-oriented curriculum design geared toward the child's achievement of "elaborative"[20] language. The results obtained with standardized tests were significantly superior to those obtained from many of the Head Start programs.

The systematic, structured drills of the Bereiter-Engelmann approach have not attracted wide popularity, perhaps because this approach appears to diverge from many widely held views about children and their learnings. Most language arts courses have remained a conglomeration of creative activities, practice in linguistic patterns, snatches of grammar and composition skills, and a series of reading exercises. Generally, there is a feeling that language arts must become part of the development of the "whole" child, which in classroom practice has meant the rather uneasy balancing of a content-oriented curriculum with a child-oriented curriculum, often with neither being well handled.

Comprehensive programs in reading, supported primarily by textbook firms, have also fitted into the language arts programs. At the core of each reading program is an instructional technique (or combination of techniques) and sequencing of materials which leads the child progressively toward more complex reading levels. Among these instructional techniques are: (a) the initial teaching alphabet (i/t/a) which regularizes the relationship between sounds and symbols with the adoption of a forty-four letter alphabet. The teacher can then use a variety of reading materials very early and adapt the materials to the needs and interests of the child; (b) the phonics approach, which stresses the existing sound-symbol relationships of the English alphabet and their "building block" functions; (c) the controlled vocabulary method, which introduces new words at a pace slow enough to make word comprehension from context clues possible; (d) the programmed approach, generally based on gradual clue withdrawal of a visual as well as contextual nature and immediate, positive reinforcement of the pupil's efforts; and (e) the language experience technique, which uses reading materials developed, at least in part, by the pupil himself. While the phonics, controlled vocabulary, and programmed approaches are content-oriented and necessarily preselected, the language experience technique and, to a lesser degree, i/t/a are child-oriented. All too often, however, a reading program is adopted not because it is consistent with the objectives of the total language arts program, but because the textbook firm has mounted a good publicity campaign.

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[17] Shugrue, op. cit., p. 43.

[18] Basil Bernstein, "Social Structure, Language and Learning," *Educational Research* 3 (1961): 163-76.

[19] Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

[20] Bernstein, op. cit.

The emphasis on reading, even though it is one of several language arts skills, has tended to separate it from other forms of communication. In the elementary school, reading has overshadowed, by and large, other aspects of language arts teaching. Language arts has thus become a field of tangential efforts, lacking a central core of continuity and consistency.

Recent Curricular Reforms: Social Studies Projects

Elementary school social studies projects, like those in English, were influenced heavily by the efforts of the science and mathematics projects and the concepts underlying them. There had been a long-simmering debate in the field between educators who perceived of the social studies as the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes[21] and educators who saw the social studies as broader than the social sciences, being based upon the role of citizens as decision-makers in a democratic form of government.[22] Given the ambiguous situation with respect to the nation's educational goals in the early sixties, it is not surprising to find the apparent conflict between a conception of curriculum which was discipline- or subject-oriented, on the one hand, and a conception of curriculum developed around social needs (historically related to the Deweyan belief that the problems of society should be brought into the classroom). The efforts of the Project Social Studies Curriculum Centers, all seeking to involve youngsters in the active use of basic processes and concepts, tended to resolve rather than aggravate the conflict.

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[21] Edgar Wesley, *Teaching Social Studies in the High School* (New York: D. C. Heath, 1937); Bernard Berelson et al., *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), pp. 3-19.

Federal funding was funneled primarily to the universities and to scholars in the various social sciences. Most of the programs undertaken had their origins in one of the social science disciplines and, like the science projects, were at the beginning to be subject-oriented. The few that emphasized citizenship and the student's involvement as a decision-maker in complex social problems were at the secondary level.

Five of the twelve Project Social Studies Curriculum Centers did deal with the elementary grades. The University of Georgia, for instance, developed a program in anthropology for grades 1-7, while Syracuse University identified the major components of the social sciences, laying the bases for its program. The University of California developed elementary and secondary materials dealing with Asian and African peoples; the University of Minnesota employed the theme of "culture" to unify its K-14 program; and Northwestern University developed programs for the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades which integrated social science concepts and American history.

In the effort to deal with the core concepts of the various social science disciplines and to involve youngsters in the use of these concepts, there was extensive reliance upon instructional media such as films and games that attempted to recreate life situations. The emphasis on rationality, which transformed the elementary science programs into interdisciplinary curriculum designs, achieved a similar result for the social sciences. The objective of involving students at the "frontiers of knowledge" meant, by the very nature of the social sciences, bringing life situations into the classroom. Thus, for the most part, Project Social Studies stimulated the development of interdisciplinary curricula which relied on actual life occurrences and student involvement.

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[22] Shirley Engle, "Exploring the Meaning of the Social Studies," *Social Education* 35 (1971): 280-88, 344; Fred M. Newmann, "Questioning the Place of Social Science Disciplines in Education," *Social Education* 31 (1967): 593-96.

A number of elementary social studies programs not sponsored by the federal government have been influential in the field. Among these is Taba's "Contra Costa Social Studies Program,"[23] which not only follows an interdisciplinary orientation but also is concerned with the arrangement of concepts so that they are taught according to developmental stages of intelligence. The program guides teachers through the proper questioning patterns, which may explain the program's present nationwide success.

The social studies materials developed by Lippitt, Fox, and Schaible[24] had wide diffusion in the early seventies. The seven elementary units devised by the authors are representative of the interdisciplinary curriculum designs that have arisen from the original discipline-oriented efforts. The first unit, "Learning to Use Social Science," presents some of the conceptual tools of the social sciences and is considered a prerequisite to the other units: "Discovering Differences," "Friendly and Unfriendly Behavior," "Being and Becoming," "Individuals and Groups," "Deciding and Doing," and "Influencing Each Other." The possibilities for involving students not only in the use of social science tools but in the examination of their own behavior are numerous. Unfortunately, the actual materials developed seem limited in their question-answer patterns to a traditional subject orientation based on the assimilation of facts and the certainty of one and only one correct answer.

One of the most exciting efforts to come out of the social studies reform movement, *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS)[25] seems destined for widespread adoption in the seventies. It is a broadly based interdisciplinary effort and bridges the sciences, social sciences, and the arts. Three questions comprise the core for content organization: (a) What is human about human beings? (b) How did they get that way? and (c) How can they be made more so? The study of generational overlap is presented through a unit on the life cycle of salmon. The idea of parenthood is compared among different species and continued with a unit on the behavior patterns of herring gulls. The behavior of baboons and a study of the Netsilik Eskimos comprise the contents of the other units. The actual materials make dramatic and imaginative use of films, games, and the like, and are based on the most recent findings in the behavioral sciences. The materials are meant to excite children's curiosity and to encourage them to ask broader, more profound, and frequently unanswerable questions about life. The songs, stories, poems, and myths of the Netsilik Eskimos are presented both as a source of greater understanding and as representative of man's creativity.

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[23] Hilda Taba, *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), pp. 368-73. After Dr. Taba's death, work continued under Jack Fraenkel, Mary Durkin, Anthony McNaughton, and others. Materials for the 1-8 Taba "Program in Social Science" have been published by Addison-Wesley.

[24] Ronald Lippitt, Robert Fox, and Lucille Schaible, *Social Science Resource Book* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1969); idem, *The Teacher's Role in Social Science Investigation* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1969).

In essence, the core idea of *Man: A Course of Study* can be found in a much earlier effort conducted under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and Educational Services, Inc. (ACLS-ESI). Raw data of various kinds were presented to students who were encouraged to use the analytical tools of the social scientists in analyzing them. The first three elementary grades dealt with topics such as evolution, primate behavior, and hunting. The materials were ordered chronologically so that the modern world was reached only in the ninth grade. The criticism of the ACLS-ESI materials was that, by and large, the young child's immediate world was ignored. A similar criticism can be made of *Man: A Course of Study*. While the three core questions have broadened the teaching base to deal with the ambiguities of life as well as with broad differences and similarities, there appears to be only limited opportunity for the student to deal with his own intimate feelings, commitments, and problems.

The lives of the Netsilik Eskimos are instances of abstractions about the human condition which can be related to the student's own lives. There is considerable emphasis upon small-group discussion so that each student may become involved in trying to understand the broad features of humanness. There is, however, little provision for the here-and-now problems facing youngsters in their own personal circumstances. For instance, statistics have shown that divorce rates are climbing even while the ideal remains a lifelong union. Yet divorce, with which so many children are intimately acquainted, is only marginally dealt with in the MACOS materials. Ways of objectifying or somehow coping with one's own personal situations are largely excluded from the objectives of not only *Man: A Course of Study* but of most of the new social studies programs.

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[25] *Man: A Course of Study* (Washington, D.C.: Curriculum Development Associates, 1971).

Transition and Confusion: 1960-1967

During the sixties, confusion grew regarding the nature of "good" elementary school programs. Widely distributed information about science and mathematics projects made such concepts as "discovery" and "invention" part of desirable instructional methodology, though the implicit thrust toward the personalized or child-oriented curriculum was not explicitly recognized. On the national scene, the Sputnik shock lessened while doubts concerning the desirability of technological progress increased. The nationwide realization that millions of Americans were gripped in poverty and suffered from discrimination made corrective legislation urgent.

With the publication of Bruner's *The Process of Education*, emphasis upon the development of the gifted and the ideas then giving impetus to educational reform were substantially modified, even though this was not the conscious purpose at the time. The proposition that any discipline could be presented so that a child of any age could begin to study it in some honest form caught on, at least in educational discourse. It was an idea that democratized the cognitive goals of education by theoretically placing the "frontiers of knowledge" within the intellectual reach of all children. The idea was cited by a diverse array of scholars and educators. It called for a shift from blaming the child for nonlearning to questioning the organization and presentation of subject matter. From here, it was not far to the idea that the disadvantaged, too, could learn and deserved programs "humanized" by this radical concept.

Quite inadvertently, it contributed to a fresh interest in "humanistic" education that was to blossom later in the decade. "Brunerism" was picked up by numerous reform groups, many of which were otherwise philosophically in contradiction.

The Kennedy era of the early sixties was one of increasing social consciousness. The injustice of poverty in a land of plenty sparked the protests of a growing number of Americans, and minority groups lashed out against the many kinds of discrimination they had known. In the urgency to respond to the "politically hot" problems of the times, the federal government saw education as a remedy. Theoretical analysis of curricular designs, however, appeared to be a luxury that could not be afforded in the light of such pressing problems. In 1964 the government reinforced its policy of support to the previously selected subjects but extended its aid to such nontechnological subjects as English and the social studies so that a broader range of students could be reached than had been possible under earlier grants. Simultaneously, Project Head Start, initiated under the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), began to prepare economically deprived youngsters of preschool age for the requirements of the public schools. Since the backgrounds of these youngsters had been judged to provide inadequate preparation for school, the involvement of parents and the community or local agency in Head Start centers was written into the act.

With the effort to include parents and local agencies, a curriculum orientation based on social needs was introduced into national goals. The growing ambivalence about the relevance of subject-centered curricula was increased. The Economic Opportunity Act ignored inconsistencies which could be expected to arise between a social-needs orientation and the subject orientation practiced in most public schools and simplistically assigned the organization of preschool programs to local agencies, permitting them to determine curriculum and instructional methodology according to their own interpretations of the needs of the community. Thus, while the curriculum centers in the academic disciplines were still in the hands of scholars, the Head Start centers were primarily under the auspices of local agencies, each with its unique interpretation of ideal objectives. While the curriculum centers had been limited to their subject fields but could span all grade levels, the

Head Start centers were focused on the total program input for a brief period prior to the child's entrance into school. The latter were more concerned with the development of the whole child and his needs as these were seen in the perspective of the community than in content goals. A 1966 survey of the Head Start programs carried out by Educational Testing Service revealed a decided propensity toward caring for social and individual needs of children. The study revealed that 80 percent of the directors felt: (a) that family needs were all-important, (b) that creating a positive attitude toward school was vital, (c) that physical needs such as medical care and proper food should receive high priority, and (d) that the most valuable kind of learning children go through is achieved by interaction with other human beings.[26]

On the assumption that the advantages of Head Start were lost because of the brevity of the programs and the child's unaided reentry into a "nonenriched" public school environment, Follow Through was initiated under federal funding as a means of retaining the advantages of Head Start during the first grades of elementary school.

Follow Through epitomizes the diverse goals which were simultaneously supported by the government. If Follow Through had been *logically* conceived as a continuation of Head Start, its emphasis would have been on the social needs of the child and his community. Instead, since the public schools have continued to emphasize the traditional subject fields, Follow Through has meant, in essence, the supplementary tutoring of subjects.

Many of the compensatory programs for the elementary schools undertaken by cities have been conceived and evaluated as means of reinforcing the traditional public school system. The More Effective Schools (MES) programs sponsored by New York City from 1964 to 1968 are examples of such local undertakings. The principal features of MES were the early scholastic start offered ghetto children, small classes not exceeding twenty-two pupils, the use of backup teachers for youngsters who began to fall behind the others, and such extra care as remedial reading classes, psychiatric help, and so forth. MES was designed to give the child more individualized assistance in conforming to city, state, and national requirements. An evaluation which showed that children were reading at grade level in only two of the twenty schools involved in the project was well publicized and regarded as highly significant.[27] Little attention was given to the results of a study by the Center for Urban Education in New York City which found a greatly improved climate and morale among participants.

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[26] Marshall S. Smith and Joan S. Bissell, "Report Analysis: The Impact of Head Start," *Harvard Educational Review* 40 (1970): 57-58.

It is clear that even before systematic attention in evaluation had been given to those goals inherent in the discipline-oriented curriculum reform, socially oriented goals having little to do with subject matter per se were sparking new school programs. The objectives still being evaluated most commonly were those of subject matter as it had existed prior to the new projects. But new goals of both structure and process in the disciplines and of individual and group well-being characterized projects designed to get at emerging recognition of weaknesses in the subject-oriented curriculum and of the need for relevance in schooling. Clearly, both types of projects were being dealt a disservice by rigidity in evaluative procedures. Regrettably and ironically, this rigidity in evaluation practice continued at a time of fresh and rather innovative conceptual progress in evaluation as represented, for example, in the work of National Assessment, Center for the Study of Evaluation at UCLA, the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., and other groups.

From Disciplines to Children to Society

The curriculum reform movement oriented to structure and process in the disciplines fitted rather well with the existing curriculum designs of the secondary school. They fitted much less well with the designs of the elementary school and with the preparation and orientation of teachers at this level of schooling. Only a few of the academicians who ventured into curriculum development in elementary education stayed with it. By 1967, the enthusiasm marking initial efforts in the late fifties was fading for a variety of reasons, including increasing difficulty in securing funds. More important, perhaps, was the growing awareness of the insolvable conflicts existing between a content-oriented curriculum (even though based on such criteria as inquiry), a socially oriented curriculum geared toward the needs of local communities, and the child-oriented curriculum, which stressed the interests of the student above all. Each of these curricula represented ideals of the era.

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[27] Joseph Alsop, Robert Schwartz, Thomas Pettigrew, and Marshall Smith, *Ghetto Schools* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic, 1967), p. 23.

The late sixties and early seventies saw an increasing consciousness of the rights and needs of the individual, not primarily as a member of a democratic society, but as an independent "free" being deserving of happiness, attention, love—in sum, of a good life—regardless of societal membership. To be "in touch" with oneself is considered to be a vital prerequisite to valid communication with one's society. This neohumanism has become an influential force in elementary education, just as waves of humanism in various forms have influenced the school throughout the century.

It is useful to note Shane's distinction between individualized and personalized learning.[28] While historically, individualizing has meant modifying the rate of learning to suit the capabilities of students, Shane sees "personalizing" as having the content suit the interests as well as the abilities of children without reference to group standards of achievement. While it is possible to individualize a subject-oriented curriculum or an interdisciplinary one, even under traditional scholastic conditions, personalization requires new structures and different approaches to content. It is doubtful whether any but the most extreme child-oriented curriculum could achieve total scholastic personalization. There are, however, many variations from "not child-oriented" to "totally child-oriented." The schools need to find their place along this continuum.

Although the child-oriented curriculum was given almost no official federal support, personalization was a part of the reforms of the sixties *in practice* even if little thought was given to it *in principle*. To "discover" is an intimately personal experience which can occur both cognitively and affectively without the knowledge of complex data. The great outcry for "love" which was part of the antipoverty, antidiscrimination, and antiwar movements inevitably contributed to the assertion of individual personality. What, after all, is more personally felt or defined than love? In the teaching practices of the science projects, the tensions between inventive creativity, on the one hand, and gaining command of the representative rationales of scientific thinking on the other never were viewed objectively in the light of personalization. Also, the social-needs curricula devised by many Head Start centers were not analyzed in relationship to the personalization which tended to arise from socially oriented objectives concerned with the health and well-being of children.

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[28] Harold G. Shane, "A Curriculum Continuum: Possible Trends in the Seventies," *Phi Delta Kappan* 51 (1970): 390.

A realization of the seventies is that the traditional structures of education must be radically altered if personalization and/or social concerns are to become a part of schooling. Schools without walls, open classrooms, and the like, are primarily efforts to overcome traditional structures, which, by their very nature, reaffirm certain kinds of objectives over others. The "opening-up" of school organization, however, does not tell us much about the programs that the schools will adopt. The New York OPEN DOOR schools, of which twelve were in operation in 1971, are based on the pattern of the British infant school. Youngsters are split into small groups in activity centers where each can "do his own thing." The New York experiment places the kindergarten and the first and second grades next door to each other and extends the classrooms by transforming the corridor into activity areas where students from the different grades can meet and work together on various projects. Selecting materials and providing a stimulating learning environment are considered teaching tasks of central importance to the program. What the pupils learn about, however, depends on the materials that the teacher has prepared. In New York, this means that the youngsters become involved in arithmetic, science, and reading lessons. The teacher must turn in weekly assessments of his pupils' progress along with his plan for the coming week's learning environment.

Philadelphia's Learning Centers Project has developed single-room centers in nine elementary schools where children come for periods varying in length from an hour to a full day each week. Small-group and individual activities take place in the enriched environment of the center. The center serves as a supplement to the more traditional program and children's visits are perceived as a time for exploration, invention, humor, and whimsy. Activities may range from a science experiment to planning an Easter outfit on a limited budget. A central focus is on the improvement of the child's self-image, on his social competence, and on his ability to be independent in a nonauthoritarian atmosphere.

Many of the so-called free schools have perceived of personalization as an affective phenomenon. In part, this is a reaction to the extreme emphasis upon cognitive learning that has typified the American school during most of its history. The Esalen School in California, with its stress on affective learnings and its use of such emotive methods as trust walks, is an example of a free school whose curriculum is based on the development of individual sensitivities.

What is clear is that the organizational restructuring of schools so that they can be freed of traditional objectives does not alone produce desirable curriculum objectives. Affective, social, and cognitive learnings are variously "planned" for students according to the diverse emphases of the programs. Kohl's popular descriptions of the open classroom wherein curriculum design is seen as so flexible that there would be as many "variations as there are combinations of students and teachers,"[29] reflect a state of curriculum development which would give no particular value to any objective unless it is perceived by the child.

Before this extreme of the child-oriented curriculum can be accepted, there are soul-searching questions which must be dealt with: Can the conception of public school education serving millions of youngsters survive in a neohumanistic, individually oriented society? Can the members of a modern society choose to ignore the advances of science and technology in favor of their personal development *and still remain active members of a democracy?* To what extent is the emphasis upon the individual as an independent, self-serving entity consistent with the nature of man? Is the emphasis upon affective development (not, by any means, the same as personal development, which may also be cognitive) a valid emphasis for any educational enterprise? There are many other questions which must be faced if public education is to survive. In seeking to answer them, it is conceivable that our curriculum designs will turn to a greater society orientation. Such shifts from subject-centered to child-centered and then to society-centered curricula are not unprecedented in curriculum ideology and practice.

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[29] Herbert Kohl, *The Open Classroom* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 58.

While many would reshape and even eliminate existing scholastic structures, others seem intent on making these structures "accountable." The high percentage of students unable to achieve the national norms in traditional subjects has appalled a large segment of the public. There has been an increasing demand for curriculum objectives to be stated in terms of specific performance that may be concretely evaluated. The conflict between those who support specific behavioral objectives and those who perceive education as uniquely personal is sharp. Meanwhile, individual schools are left with the momentous, perplexing tasks of conducting programs to satisfy extremes in ideology. No wonder that they satisfy some groups not at all and others only partially. This is not a new problem for the schools of this country but it is one that must be faced anew in the coming decade.

CHAPTER XI

Teaching

GRETA MORINE
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Approaches to Analyzing Teaching

Teaching, like any complex process, can be analyzed in a number of different ways. In suggesting possible sources for theories of teaching, Gage noted four different approaches to analyzing the teaching process: (a) according to types of teacher activities (explaining, demonstrating, guiding, etc.); (b) according to types of educational objectives (affective, psychomotor, cognitive); (c) according to components which correspond to basic elements of the learning process (motivation-producing, perception-directing, reinforcement-providing); and (d) according to families of learning theory (conditioning theory, identification theory, cognitive theory).[1] Gage thought that useful theories of teaching might be derived from combining the products of these various analyses.

Another approach to the analysis of teaching is the examination of different teaching methods. Gage defined teaching methods as recurrent patterns of teacher behavior and identified four basic methods currently being studied: classroom discourse, lecture, discussion, and discovery.[2] He also identified teaching methods that had been advocated by historic educational figures and noted that most of these methods had counterparts in educational practices of the 1960s.

In advocating pluralistic approaches to curriculum and teaching,

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[1] N. L. Gage, "Theories of Teaching," in *Theories of Learning and Instruction*, ed. Ernest R. Hilgard, Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Pt. I (Chicago: Distributed by University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 275-77.

[2] N. L. Gage, "Teaching Methods," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed., ed. Robert L. Ebel (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1969), pp. 1446-56.

Joyce analyzed teaching in terms of alternative means to achieve alternative objectives. He identified several different "models" of teaching and organized them into four major types. One group is derived from social sources and focuses upon developing social relationships. Another derives from information-processing systems and focuses upon developing intellectual skills. A third group is derived from personality development sources and focuses upon improving capacities for functioning as an integrated personality. A final group, derived from behavior modification sources, focuses upon increasing the amount of desirable behavior exhibited.[3]

In recent years, with the increased emphasis on accountability, several attempts have been made to analyze teaching by identifying basic teaching skills or observable behaviors that are related to student achievement. Some of the skills which were identified by the early research on teaching behavior include questioning, reinforcement, explaining, and refocusing. The early expectations that the counting of relatively objective teaching behaviors would yield consistent, significant correlations with achievement have not yet been fulfilled.[4]

This brief survey of different approaches to the analysis of teaching indicates that the purpose to be served affects the analyst's perception of teaching. If the purpose of the analysis is to derive theories of teaching, then teaching may be perceived legitimately as the obverse of learning. If the purpose of the analysis is to identify different teaching methods, then teaching is perceived appropriately as recurrent patterns of behavior. If the purpose of the analysis is to build alternative educational systems for a pluralistic society, then teaching is perceived productively as a series of alternative models derived from different sources and having different goals. If the purpose of the analysis is to relate teaching behavior to student achievement, then teaching may be perceived logically as a set of discrete skills or observable and measurable behaviors. Each different purpose generates its own unique perception of the complex process of teaching.

[3] Bruce Joyce and Marsha Weil, *Models of Teaching* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 8-11.

[4] Barak Rosenshine and Norma Furst, "Research on Teacher Performance Criteria," in *Research in Teacher Education: A Symposium*, ed. B. O. Smith (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 37-56.

Teaching and the Concept of Role

The purpose of this analysis of teaching is to describe teaching as one very important component of the modern elementary school. The elementary school is a social institution that is strongly affected by changes and conflicts in the society as a whole. In turn, the school effects changes in the groups who work within it—teachers, administrators, and pupils.

The terms used here to describe the school are mainly sociological terms. If the school is viewed from a sociological perspective, then it is fitting to describe teaching from the same perspective. Therefore, the sociological concept of role is used to analyze the process of teaching as it occurs in the modern elementary school.

"Role" refers to a set of expectations and a set of behaviors that are associated with an acquired or assigned status. A given role performs particular functions for the social group in which it is carried out. Any one individual may function in a variety of roles throughout his lifetime or at any given point in his lifetime. Thus, a woman (assigned status) may display one set of behaviors when functioning in her role as daughter (assigned status), another set when functioning in her role as wife (acquired status), and a third when functioning in her role as an author (acquired status).

The three principal aspects of the concept of role as defined here are: a role involves a function; a role is associated with a set of expectations and a set of behaviors; an individual may play a variety of roles. All of these aspects of role can be applied to teaching.

"Teacher" can be and has been perceived as a unitary role consisting of several basic functions and a set of related behaviors and expectations. A more productive application of the concept of role is to draw an analogy between the teacher and the individual. Just as we can perceive the individual as functioning in a variety of social roles, so we can perceive the teacher as functioning in a variety of instructional roles. Each possible instructional role performs a particular function for the pupils with whom it is carried out. Each instructional role has an associated set of expectations and an associated set of behaviors, though there are usually discrepancies between the expected behaviors associated with the role and the actual behaviors exhibited by the individual performing the role. Any given teacher can be perceived as having a repertoire of instructional roles. Some teachers may have extensive repertoires, while others have very limited ones.

If teaching is perceived as a set of instructional roles, then an analysis of teaching as it exists in the elementary school today must consider the following questions:

1. What are the instructional roles teachers are asked to perform?
2. What are the expectations associated with each role?
3. How valid are these expectations, and what are the actual behaviors associated with each role?
4. What functions can each role serve?
5. How do teachers decide which roles to perform?

These questions will serve to organize the remainder of this chapter.

Instructional Roles

THE TEACHER AS REPORTER

The instructional role of *reporter* of information and events is a time-honored one. In preliterate societies much of the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation was conducted by the process of storytelling. Abelard, in the twelfth century, used a method that involved reporting both sides of a philosophical issue. St. Thomas Aquinas advocated the use of logical demonstration wherein the speaker or reporter stated a question, presented the views of authorities, and suggested his own solution. The modern counterpart of this ancient instructional role is the well-known lecture method.

Role expectations. Much of the research and analysis dealing with the lecture method is related to college teaching, but some of the same expectations hold for use of this role in the elementary school. The teacher as reporter is expected to be well organized, to speak clearly, to use varied emphasis and intonation, to give many illustrations and examples of the major points, to maintain eye contact with the pupils, and to summarize carefully.[5] It is generally agreed that the teacher as reporter should communicate enthusiasm and interest for his topic as well as knowledge about it.

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[5] James W. Brown and James W. Thornton, Jr., *College Teaching: Perspectives and Guidelines* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963), pp. 138-52.

Ausubel has advocated use of this instructional role in the elementary school. He has three very important role expectations: that this role be used to transmit the basic concepts of each discipline separately; that the teacher should present the most general and inclusive ideas of the discipline first; that the teacher should relate each new concept to previously learned content.[6]

It is generally expected that the teacher as reporter communicates orally and that the communication is mainly one-way. The concomitant role for the pupil is to listen. In the elementary school it is usually recommended that the oral presentation be accompanied by some visual illustrations, such as pictures, slides, transparencies, or key words written on the chalkboard.

Validity of role expectations. Not all of the expectations associated with the role of teacher as reporter have been demonstrated to have real consequence for pupils' learning. Teacher enthusiasm and clarity do appear to make a difference in children's achievement.[7] However, the importance of organization has not been clearly demonstrated. Studies have shown that randomly organized presentations are comprehended as well as logically organized ones.[8]

The expectation that the elementary teacher when lecturing or reporting uses mainly one-way communication has not been fully substantiated in studies of classroom interaction. Gage notes that "classroom discourse is the most prevalent and the most loosely defined teaching method. It consists of a mixture of brief and informal lectures with discussions and recitations."[9] Flanders and many others have reported that teachers talk some 65 to 75 percent of the time in this type of classroom discourse.[10] It would seem to follow that pupils are talking 25 to 35 percent of the time. Apparently, what actually occurs in the elementary school classroom when the teacher tries to function in the role of reporter is a somewhat modified form of the lecture method, with presentation of information being punctuated by feedback from pupils.

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[6] David P. Ausubel, *The Psychology of Meaningful Verbal Learning* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1963), p. 79.

[7] Rosenshine and Furst, op. cit., pp. 44-46.

[8] Wayne N. Thompson, *Quantitative Research in Public Address and Communication* (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 65-68.

[9] Gage, "Teaching Methods," op. cit., p. 1450.

[10] Ned Flanders and Anita Simon, "Teacher Effectiveness," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed., ed. Robert L. Ebel (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, Ltd., 1969), p. 1429.

Functions of role. The role of reporter can be an effective instructional role when it is performed well and when it is performed *intermittently*. Variation in teaching behavior seems to be associated with more positive attitudes and higher achievement of pupils. But teachers who use the modified lecture pattern almost exclusively tend to have classes that achieve less well.[11]

A presentation of information can transmit knowledge efficiently to large groups, especially when the presentation is followed by discussion in small groups. One pattern of use for this role would be to have a skilled reporter present a concept to a large group of pupils, using Ausubel's *advance organizer* strategy.[12] Following the presentation, discussion groups aimed at helping pupils integrate the new concept with previously learned material would be led by teachers skilled in use of this strategy. This pattern of use would seem to be a practical one in elementary schools that are organized for team teaching and differentiated staffing (see chapter 9).

THE TEACHER AS MODEL

The instructional role of *model* also has antecedents that go far back in time. Anthropologists note that a basic form of the socialization process in most societies is children's imitation of adult activities. Both physical and social skills are learned in this manner. In ancient Athens, the rhetoricians used systematic imitation as a method of teaching young men to speak effectively. There is also some evidence that moral values are learned through imitation of and identification with adult models,[13] and teachers historically have been expected to display exemplary moral behavior. In modern use of this role the elementary teacher models a variety of physical skills for children to learn through imitation.

Role expectations. The teacher as model of particular physical or psychomotor skills is expected to be adept at the skill he is modeling. Some of the skills that teachers are expected to model include: "perfect" handwriting in manuscript and/or cursive on chalkboards and on paper; ball-handling skills appropriate for seasonal team sports such as dodge ball, kickball, baseball, football, basketball; artistic skills such as cutting, pasting, painting, charcoal sketching; handicraft skills such as sewing, knitting, macrame, tie-dyeing, weaving; woodworking skills such as sawing, hammering, planing, sandpapering; musical skills such as tone-matching, song-singing, instrument-playing.

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[11] Rosenshine and Furst, op. cit., p. 45.

[12] Joyce and Weil, op. cit., pp. 174-77.

[13] Albert Bandura and Frederick J. McDonald, "The Influence of Social Reinforcements and the Behavior of Models in Shaping Children's Moral Judgments," *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology* 67 (1963): 274-81.

The teacher as model is also expected to exemplify social roles that children need to learn, and portray the values and attitudes that the society wants its youth to develop.

Validity of role expectations. There is a serious question whether it is possible for a teacher to fulfill the expectations of others when performing the role of model. An individual teacher may possess many of the psychomotor skills that children need to learn, but he rarely possesses them all. The probability is high that he possesses only a few.

Modeling of social roles is an area of some controversy. With the changing sex roles in the society today, it is difficult for any teacher to know what social roles to model. Elementary school teachers (largely women) have been accused of overplaying the female role and contributing to the "feminization" of the American male.[14] According to this view, the elementary teacher models and rewards behavior typical of the American female, such as showing preference for verbal communication, sedentary activities, and co-operation (conformity to group norms). More masculine behavior, such as high-level physical activity, frequent physical confrontations, competition, and showing independence of authority, is rarely displayed by the teacher and tends to be punished when it is displayed by pupils.

Recently, the followers of women's liberation movements have joined the attack by noting the stereotyped sex roles that are portrayed in children's textbooks.[15] Surely it will not be long before they begin to protest the model of the female portrayed by the elementary teacher herself. For, while the classroom teacher (usually female) has some independence, even a kindergarten child knows that it is the principal (usually male) who holds the real power in the school. And, while the number of male teachers in elementary schools has increased somewhat in recent years, the number of females in administrative positions has not.

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[14] Patricia C. Sexton, "Education and Effeminacy," *School and Society* 116 (1968): 273-74.

[15] Phylis Alroy et al., *Dick and Jane As Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers* (Princeton, N.J.: Women on Words and Images, 1972).

Modeling of values and attitudes is an equally controversial area. The modern multicultural society no longer agrees that inculcation of middle-class values and attitudes is an appropriate function of the elementary school. Subcultures are demanding teachers for their children who can understand and model the values of their culture. Thus, black children need black teachers, Chicano children need Chicano teachers, and Asian children need Asian teachers. Less militant groups of the various subcultures continue to argue for integrated classrooms, where children can learn to understand and appreciate the differences that exist in a multicultural nation. In such classrooms it would not seem to be appropriate for the teacher to model a "preferred" value system.

Functions of role. How can the elementary school teacher deal with the dilemmas surrounding the role of teacher as model? One way would be to limit the roles he attempts to model. He can model effectively psychomotor skills that he does possess, for example, and solicit the help of other teachers or of volunteers and paraprofessionals to model the skills he does not possess.

He can model social roles that are desirable for the classroom and which have no sexist connotations. For example, research suggests that teachers expect their pupils to be good listeners but that teachers rarely portray this role themselves.[16] A useful social role to model would be the role of listener, with the teacher portraying skills in paraphrasing and checking comprehension of the messages being sent by pupils.

Teachers legitimately can model intellectual roles.[17] They can show through their behavior that they value scholarship, the indeterminate situation, the excitement of moving from the known to the unknown, or the unique solution. They can be caught once in a while reading a book. They can show children that a teacher's hypothesis may fail to bear fruit, that a teacher can come up against an intellectual stone wall but refuse to quit in the face of frustration. The one value which teachers can model safely is the value of thinking and learning.

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[16] Flanders and Simon, op. cit., p. 1429.

[17] Harold Morine and Greta Morine, *Discovery: A Challenge to Teachers* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

THE TEACHER AS PROBLEM-SETTER

The instructional role of *problem-setter* has its historical roots in the Socratic method. The first step in a Socratic dialogue was to get the learner to question his own knowledge. In the early 1800s, Herbart formulated his version of the inductive method, which required pupils to develop generalizations from information that the teacher organized and presented. John Dewey's project method aimed at engaging learners in problem-solving activities that were related to concerns about the real world of the child. These varied approaches to problem-setting all have their counterparts in modern instructional practice. Some educators group all the modern manifestations of this role under the term *inquiry methods*. Space does not permit a discussion of all the variations of this particular role, and this analysis focuses upon the role performed by the teacher when using inductive discovery as a form of problem-setting.

Role expectations. While teaching strategies used in various discovery methods can differ markedly, most versions of this aspect of the problem-setter role expect that the teacher will provide pupils with data or examples from which a basic principle or generalization can be drawn. In some instances, the teacher is expected to ask open questions that will lead pupils to generate such data.[18] When the data have been examined by pupils, it is expected that the teacher will guide discussion so that pupils suggest relationships among the data and evaluate each other's ideas. The teacher is expected to refrain from such evaluation but may compare the ideas of different pupils in an objective manner. When pupil agreement is reached, the teacher is expected to encourage pupils to revise faulty generalizations by providing new data or new insights about old data. Throughout the discovery process the teacher is expected to accept and make use of pupils' ideas and to refrain from presenting his own conclusions.

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[18] Hilda Taba, *Teacher's Handbook for Elementary Social Studies* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1967), p. 92.

Validity of role expectations. The research on the effectiveness of this version of the problem-setter role is not conclusive since studies of discovery methods have tended to be irrelevant, poorly designed, or negative in their findings. A much more structured method called "guided discovery" does seem to facilitate learning and retention.[19] Studies of teaching behavior do appear to support the effectiveness of this type of instructional role. Flanders cites several studies that indicate a relationship between teacher statements that make use of pupils' ideas and pupils' achievement and attitudes toward school.[20]

There is some question as to how well teachers (and researchers) understand and execute the expectations of the advocates of discovery methods. Many seem to construe the inductive discovery version of the problem-setter role in an extreme form, depriving learners of all cues and leaving them completely unguided in their search for concepts or principles.[21] While the indirect patterns of classroom interaction identified by Flanders are related to higher achievement, most teachers studied tended not to use these indirect patterns.[22] Experienced supervisors note that many teachers attempting to use discovery methods resort to telling pupils the answer if the desired generalization is not quickly reached. The lack of evidence to support the effectiveness of discovery methods may be related to the fact that researchers have not yet differentiated the most important factors affecting discovery learning, and that teachers have not yet learned to play this version of the problem-setting role as effectively as they might.

Functions of role. The instructional role of problem-setter can be used in interaction with individuals and with small or medium-sized groups. It is used appropriately in any subject area where the learning of thinking skills is as important an objective as learning content. Gage notes that there is considerable evidence to support the notion that structured or guided discovery can be used in teaching "some aspects of some subjects with advantages for learning, retention, and transfer."[23] He suggests that strategic use of this version of the problem-setter role will increase interest, involvement, and problem-solving ability without an unreasonable expenditure of time.

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[19] David P. Ausubel, *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), pp. 497-504.

[20] Flanders and Simon, op. cit., p. 1426.

[21] Gage, "Teaching Methods," op. cit., p. 1456.

[22] Flanders and Simon, op. cit., p. 1429.

One way to apply this suggestion would be to use a form of the problem-setter role and the reporter role in an alternating cycle. Pupils could be encouraged to develop generalizations related to a given set of data. When they have evaluated their own generalizations, the teacher could present those of scholars in the field and compare the generalizations and the data organizations of the scholars with those developed by pupils. If this plan were followed, the teacher as reporter would need to point out the disagreements existing among scholars, so that children would learn to question the validity of knowledge generated by authorities in the same way that they question the validity of the knowledge they generate themselves.

THE TEACHER AS COUNSELOR

The instructional role of *counselor* was advocated by Pestalozzi in the late 1700s. He hoped to release pupils' spirits and increase their efficiency by showing them that they were loved. The child study movement in the 1940s was another forerunner of this role. At this time, teachers became very aware of the personal and social development of their pupils and sought to engage them in activities that would facilitate this development. Jersild's studies of children's self-perceptions led him to advocate classroom discussions of common personal and social problems.[24] The modern advocates of similar instructional roles include Carl Rogers (student-centered teaching), William Glasser (reality therapy), and William Schutz (awareness or sensitivity training).[25]

Role expectations. While advocates of the counselor role differ somewhat in the strategies they recommend, they agree that a fundamental aspect of education is the task of finding personal identity and self-worth. They expect the teacher to facilitate this task by providing pupils with the opportunity to explore their feelings in open discussions. The teacher may begin such discussions by asking an open-ended question or by leading pupils in a brief exercise designed to stimulate sensory awareness. As pupils discuss the question or their reactions to the awareness exercise, the teacher is expected to be accepting, supportive, and nonjudgmental.

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[23] Gage, "Teaching Methods," op. cit., p. 1456.

[24] Arthur T. Jersild, *In Search of Self* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1952).

[25] Joyce and Weil, op. cit., pp. 208-9.

In Glasser's "Classroom Meeting," the role of counselor takes on some additional complexities. The teacher must be warmly involved with the group rather than objective and detached. He must get the child and the group to make judgments about their behavior, although he himself remains nonjudgmental. He must assist children in planning a better course of action for their future behaviors and may suggest some alternatives to be considered. He endeavors to get the children to make a commitment to follow the course of action they select, and once the commitment is made, he supports it by exercising discipline, rather than by excusing children for nonperformance.[26]

Validity of role expectations. There seems to be general agreement among elementary school counselors that the classroom teacher does have an important guidance function.[27] Relatively few classroom teachers have had any training to fulfill this function, however. When Jersild recommended classroom discussion on personal problems, he also recommended that teachers get training in counseling themselves.[28] Present-day advocates of the counselor role do not always stress the need for such training. But it is not an easy matter for the teacher to subordinate his own feelings and problems to those of his pupils unless he has had a prior opportunity to develop some insights into his own feelings.

Many teachers have interpreted the counselor role as being completely separate from instruction. They hope to develop positive self-concepts in children by focusing on affect alone, forgetting that self-concept is always related to achievement of some standard of behavior. Some teachers interpret the idea of helping pupils find their own direction to mean that pupils will select the goals and activities that the teacher had in mind to begin with. These teachers are usually disappointed in their expectations.

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[26] Ibid., pp. 225-26.

[27] Harold F. Cottingham, "Counseling—Elementary Schools," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed., ed. Robert L. Ebel (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1969), p. 235.

[28] Arthur T. Jersild, *When Teachers Face Themselves* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955).

There is little evidence of the effectiveness of these techniques with children, for several reasons. Proponents of the counselor role are prone to rely on self-reports rather than more objective forms of evaluation. The goals are long-term rather than immediate, so that changes that are achieved tend to be gradual and difficult to observe. The recent educational "movements" associated with this role have not been on the scene long enough to produce much evaluative research. Some adherents of the movement argue that results should *not* be evaluated. "Don't analyze it" is their rallying cry.

Functions of role. The instructional role of counselor can be used with small or medium-sized groups. It can be used to deal with pupil problems that are related to the school setting.

Glasser recommends use of this role in dealing with academic problems as well as social problems. A "Classroom Meeting" can be used to find out what students do and do not know about a topic they have been studying. It can be used to learn what topics are interesting and thought-provoking to children. Rogers suggests that each class might open with a variant of the question, "What do we want to do today?" Problem-solving activities then develop around individual questions posed by pupils.

One way to apply these suggestions would be to use the counselor role to involve pupils in planning and evaluation of their own instruction. Group planning can be very time-consuming, but it is possible to alternate between teacher-directed and student-directed activities. One organization that has been tried in many schools is to have teacher-directed study of "survival" or basic skill subjects during the morning hours and student-directed activities such as interest centers or "uncommon learning centers" in the afternoon hours.[29]

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[29] Harold Morine and Greta Morine, *A Primer for the Inner City School* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970).

THE TEACHER AS DIAGNOSTICIAN

In the seventeenth century Comenius used an instructional method that involved developing materials sequentially and providing pupils with immediate correction. Thorndike in the early 1900s viewed immediate feedback and reinforcement as a necessary condition of learning. But Skinner is the man most widely associated with modern interpretations of the instructional role of *diagnostician*. Both programmed instruction and behavior modification have their basis in the assumption that teachers can diagnose pupil needs and prescribe stimulus and reinforcement conditions in order to foster attainment of those needs.

Role expectations. The teacher as diagnostician is expected to determine pupils' cognitive levels in various subject areas, state specific behavioral objectives to be achieved, select or produce the appropriate instructional material to achieve these objectives, and evaluate individual performance at the end of the instruction. With many programmed instructional materials, these teacher tasks are simplified by the provision of diagnostic tests and specific instructions as to sequencing of materials.

The role of diagnostician is used also in dealing with children's social learning. In this case, the teacher is expected to identify both the undesirable behavior that is to be decreased and the desirable behavior that is to be increased. The prescription or treatment that the teacher then applies involves ignoring the undesirable behavior, rewarding the desirable behavior, and isolating the child without comment for behavior that is dangerous or unacceptable.

With the move toward accountability in education, the instructional role of diagnostician has become increasingly important. For example, the Stull Bill in California mandates that teacher effectiveness be judged on pupil achievement of the behavioral objectives agreed upon by the teacher and administrator. This criterion of effectiveness is to be used for decisions about tenure and salary increases.

Validity of role expectations. There is a good deal of research available on programmed instruction. It leaves no doubt that students who use programmed materials learn. They learn from different kinds of programming and from different kinds of materials. Some of them even like the programs. But the most common finding of the studies is that there is no significant difference between the instructional conditions being compared.[30]

Supposedly this instructional role calls for attention to individual differences. Since pupils work independently on programs, the programs can be suited to their own individual attainment levels. But the studies of effectiveness of programmed instruction generally fail to include individual difference variables such as aptitude, personality, and interests, and thus little is known about these as correlates of learning scores.[31] Therefore, a teacher attempting to prescribe the most effective instruction for a particular pupil has little assurance that programmed lessons will be the most effective type of material. One study has shown that with high-aptitude students, instruction from an innovative teacher plus a program is most effective, while with low-aptitude students a conventional teacher alone produces better results.[32]

The expectation that teachers are able and willing to state specific behavioral objectives is open to some question. In recent years many of the teacher education materials produced by the national research and development laboratories have been aimed at retraining teachers to use this skill.[33] But it is evident from talking to teachers in the classroom that most of them feel woefully inadequate to the task and that many of them object to it strongly on the grounds that it is "behavioristic" or "mechanistic" rather than "humanistic."

The validity of expectations with regard to the instructional role of diagnostician applied to the affective realm is slightly more positive. Spaulding has identified six behavioral "styles" of children and set up treatment schedules for each style, with the general objective of moving children toward a style of independent, self-directed behavior.[34] He has demonstrated that teachers can be trained to use the treatment schedules, that the treatment schedules are effective in changing children's behavior, and that the resultant behavior change acts to reinforce the teacher's newly acquired behavior patterns.[35]

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[30] Lawrence M. Stolurow, "Programmed Instruction," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 4th ed., ed. Robert L. Ebel (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1969), p. 1020.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Bruce Joyce et al., *Materials for Modules: A Classification of Competency-Oriented Tools for Teacher Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1971), pp. 29-31.

[34] Robert L. Spaulding, *Educational Intervention in Early Childhood*,

However, there is evidence that untrained teachers tend to be more aware of negative than positive behavior in the children they observe and teach.[36] Coding of interactive behavior indicates that teachers tend to disapprove social behavior of children and approve cognitive behavior. They rarely approve social behavior or disapprove cognitive behavior in their verbal interchanges.[37] Thus, it is apparent that most teachers need some special training to use the instructional role of diagnostician in relation to children's social behavior in the classroom.

As in the case of programmed instruction, many teachers object to the use of behavior modification techniques on the grounds that they represent an antihumanistic approach to education. While these views may be naïve, they must nevertheless be taken into account as a set of circumstances conditioning what teachers will and will not incorporate readily into their pedagogical skills.

Functions of role. The instructional role of diagnostician in the cognitive realm can be used in settings where individualized instruction and independent learning are the pattern. It can be used in teaching basic skill areas, where general agreement exists as to the necessity of pupil attainment of specific knowledge. It can be used in subject areas where programmed materials and diagnostic tests are well developed. At present there is a variety of such materials available to teach mathematics and reading at the elementary level.

The instructional role of diagnostician in the affective realm can be used in interaction with individuals and small groups. It can be used in settings where agreement exists as to what is desirable social behavior. It is most effectively used when there are support

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Durham Education Improvement Program Final Report, vol. 1 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1971), pp. 30-46.

[35] Ibid., pp. 50-57.

[36] Ibid., p. 171.

[37] Greta Morine, Robert Spaulding, and Selma Greenberg, *Discovering New Dimensions in the Teaching Process* (Scranton, Pa.: Intext Educational Publishers, 1971), p. 84.

personnel available to observe and code the behavior of teacher and child and provide the teacher with feedback during the initial stages of treatment. This fact would seem to recommend its use in team-teaching situations or in schools that have paraprofessionals or volunteer teaching assistants available.

The diagnostician role can be used in conjunction with some of the other roles discussed previously. For example, the instructional role of diagnostician (cognitive realm) can be used in teacher-directed settings to teach basic skill subjects while the role of counselor is being used to facilitate student-directed learning in other subject areas. The role of diagnostician (affective realm) can be used to change children's social behavior at the same time that the role of problem-setter is being used to facilitate their learning of intellectual skills.

THE TEACHER AS SYSTEMS MANAGER

The instructional role of *systems manager* may have its historical roots in Froebel's concern for human development and his belief that teaching should always be two-sided—giving and taking, prescribing and following, active and passive, firm and yielding. These would seem to be the characteristics exemplified in the best British infant schools and the most successful open classrooms in American elementary schools today.[38] It is in the open classroom that the role of systems manager is most frequently played.

Role expectations. The teacher as systems manager is expected to select, produce, or procure a wide variety of instructional materials for independent use by children. He is to organize time and space in the classroom so that these materials are readily available to children. He is to encourage freedom of movement, freedom of conversation, and freedom of choice of learning activities. He is to assist children when they need assistance, guide them when they need guidance, instruct them when they need instruction, and leave them alone when they need to be left alone. At times he is to make decisions about what it is that children need, and at times he is to help children make these decisions. As the children make choices and use the instructional materials, the teacher is to keep records of the experiences that they have and to evaluate the learning that is taking place.

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[38] Joseph Featherstone, "Open Schools: Tempering a Fad," *New Republic* 165 (September 25, 1971): 17-21.

Since efficient operation of this kind of instructional setting usually requires a smaller adult-child ratio than the traditional classroom, the teacher as systems manager is also expected to manage the activities of other adults in the classroom. These other adults may be paraprofessionals, teacher aides, parent volunteers, or student teachers. In dealing with them the teacher is expected to select a limited function for each that will support the total system and which is in keeping with the particular talents that each possesses. He is then expected to define their roles clearly for them, train them to function in these roles, and evaluate their performance periodically.

Validity of role expectations. The research on effectiveness of the instructional role of systems manager is no more conclusive than the research on other roles. Children in formal schools do slightly better on conventional achievement tests than do children in informal schools, possibly because formal schools teach children to take tests. It does not appear that informal settings are harmful to the development of conventional academic skills. Pupils in informal settings do display more "initiative, critical thinking, ability to express [themselves] in writing, and capacity to pursue [tasks] on [their] own." [39]

The observable behavior of teachers in many "open" schools does not match well with expectations of the systems manager role. It is a common phenomenon to see open-space schools and classrooms where bookcases and filing cabinets have replaced the absent walls and protect one teacher from the view of another. The desks in these "rooms" are in rows or clusters. Teachers stand in the middle of the class and talk to everyone at once, only now they operate under the handicap of acoustical planning that makes it impossible for students on the fringes of the group to hear them clearly. In older buildings where walls have been removed to make two typical classrooms into one large open room, the amount of movement that occurs from one half of the room to the other is usually minimal. Teachers find it difficult to adapt to new uses of space and new patterns of trust and cooperation, and they have not received much help in retraining themselves in these uses.

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[39] Joseph Featherstone, "Open Schools: The British and Us," *New Republic* 165 (September 11, 1971): 20-25.

The expectation that teachers will manage other adults in the classroom effectively has not been completely fulfilled, either. The fact is that most elementary school teachers are in the profession because they enjoy working with children. They resist demands that they reduce the time they spend with children in order to direct and evaluate the efforts of other adults. They feel that the advantages of more adults in the classroom will be lost if all of the adults are not spending their time interacting with children. As a result, many teachers do not have a very clear idea of what the other adults are actually *doing* with the children.

Functions of role. The instructional role of systems manager can be used most effectively in educational settings where active support and cooperation are furnished by parents, administrators, and other teachers. It is not a role that a teacher can learn or perform easily on his own. The teacher as systems manager may work with a medium-sized group, but the more typical pattern is to have several teachers playing this role with large groups of children.

The roles of problem-setter, model, and diagnostician can be played within the context of the systems manager role. For example, an optional activity in an open-classroom setting can be a group lesson where discovery teaching strategies are used. Another optional activity might be a group lesson where the teacher is modeling a particular set of skills, such as a construction activity where woodworking skills are being taught. The teacher as diagnostician (cognitive realm) may prescribe one or two activities for each child during the course of a day, leaving them free to schedule other activities according to their own interests. The teacher as diagnostician (affective realm) would spend part of his time giving approval to children who were involved in productive, independent work in the open-classroom setting.

OTHER INSTRUCTIONAL ROLES

There are many other instructional roles that a teacher can be called upon to perform. The teacher as *policeman* may be expected to maintain law and order in the classroom, playground, cafeteria, or hall. The teacher as *critic* may be expected to evaluate the creative productions of children on the basis of a variety of external criteria and to report these evaluations to the "audience" of classmates, parents, and administrators. The teacher as *consumer* may be expected to shop wisely in the commercial world of the educational supermarket and to follow carefully the directions on the packages of prepared "foods." The teacher as *artist* may be expected to use his technical skills in innovative ways, creating a "canvas" that displays his unique perception of the world for the children to view and explore. The teacher as *experimenter* may be expected to hypothesize about the effects of various strategies, collect data about classroom behavior, search for relationships between data, and develop his own instructional theory.

Sometimes it seems that there are no limits to the roles an elementary teacher may be expected to perform. It is clear, however, that there are definite limits to the roles that teachers *do* perform. The discrepancy between expectations and behavior exists in the performance of instructional roles just as surely as it exists in the performance of other social roles.

It also is clear that there rarely is any conclusive evidence that the roles teachers are expected to perform are related to improvement of educational outcomes. Each of the eleven roles mentioned in this chapter has a group of advocates who can point to a number of logical and psychological reasons why the particular role they prefer will lead to a better environment for children. What they cannot point to is a number of instances where that particular role has been demonstrated to be more effective than any other particular role.

Selecting Roles to Play

Given the variety of expectations and the lack of evidence in regard to instructional roles, the task of selecting a role to perform is not a simple one for any teacher. Perhaps the lack of evidence is not really an important factor to teachers, since few of them are conversant with the latest research on the effectiveness of various roles. One factor that does affect teachers' selection of roles is their perception of the expectations of others in the immediate social system—that is, of the administrators, teachers, and parents with whom they personally interact. Teacher educators have long bemoaned the fact that first- and second-year teachers lose or cease to use many of the skills and techniques they developed in preservice training and instead adopt the instructional patterns that are prevalent in the school where they teach.

When the immediate social system includes pressures to innovate or change patterns of instruction, teachers' self-concepts become an important factor in selection of roles. When urged to perform functions new to them, they may ask themselves: Can I *do* that? Can I *learn* to do it? Can I *stand* to do it? Do I *want* to do it? Do I have the *energy* to make the effort? For many, the energy required is the crucial variable, for in most schools involved in innovation, the retraining, planning, and organizing necessary to perform new roles are all carried on during the teachers' after-school time. It does not require a different expenditure of the same time and energy but, rather, an expenditure of additional time and energy on top of that already being given to the ongoing instructional program.

For some teachers, the crucial question is whether they can stand to play the new role. Take any group of elementary school teachers to visit an open classroom and there will be at least one in the group who thinks that it is too highly structured and probably more than one who will comment that they could not possibly tolerate the confusion or noise or uncertainty.

For still other teachers the crucial question is a value question. Several of the roles examined here are seen as related to the humanistic-behavioristic dichotomy. A teacher who views himself as a humanist may find the role of diagnostician an onerous one to learn and perform. A behaviorist may find it difficult to learn the role of counselor.

One way to deal with this problem is to relate the value orientation of the teacher to the *sequence* of skill acquisition. The first new role to be learned might then be reasonably close to the trainee's value position. Later roles to be learned would deviate more from this position. Eventually, the trainee would learn to perform instructional roles reflecting a variety of value bases. In an application of this process, a humantistically oriented teacher might begin by learning to perform the systems manager or counselor role and later learn to perform the diagnostician role. This framework for the training of teachers has been used effectively in the Preservice Program at Teachers College, Columbia University.[40] It could also be applied in in-service programs.

The process of role selection could be greatly simplified if the advocates of each of the different instructional roles would stop insisting that "their" role is the best and most effective for all pupils under all circumstances, and that if teachers would only perform this single role all the time, the American elementary school system would be saved. In discussing the function of each role, it has been suggested here that the various roles can complement and support each other in many ways. A classroom or school which integrates several roles can provide more variety of options for its pupils as well as its teachers and will reflect more truly the society that it serves.

Directions for the Future

Given the state of affairs described above, educators may have several reactions to teaching as it exists in the modern elementary school. Some of these reactions are:

1. To throw up one's hands in horror and give up the whole enterprise
2. To decide that nothing can be improved anyway; one might as well relax and keep on "doing what comes naturally"
3. To try taking one small step at a time, so that gradually the movement is toward a truly effective educational program
4. To choose a panacea that appeals personally and spend a lot of time telling others that the answer to the major problems of education has been found
5. To try out an idea in a classroom for one year or less, write a book about the successes achieved, and retire early on the royalties.

Most teachers have had almost all of these reactions at one time or another in their careers. Most of these reactions are remarkably ineffective for dealing with the very real need for improvement in elementary educational practice. Probably the most productive reaction is to try taking one small step at a time, but an individual teacher moving in this way cannot accomplish much.

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[40] Bruce Joyce et al., "Models of Teaching As a Paradigm for Teacher Education" (A paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, 1972).

What is needed is an integrated effort of the educational community, including teacher educators, elementary school teachers, educational researchers, and educational administrators. At the risk of sounding like "panacea producers," the authors would suggest that if each of these four groups would move in complementary directions, elementary school teaching might be considerably improved.

TRAINING TO PERFORM ROLES SKILLFULLY

It is a testable hypothesis that if teachers could learn to perform instructional roles more skillfully, the research on the effectiveness of these roles might be more conclusive. What "skillful" means in this context is "capable of achieving a closer match between the set of associated expectations and the set of associated behaviors." Teachers could probably be trained to achieve this closer match if teacher educators would turn their efforts in this direction.

The competency-based teacher education (CBTE) movement is still in its infancy. To date, a great deal of time, energy, and money have been poured into the identification of teacher competencies or skills and the production of training materials to instruct teachers in the development of these skills. Many of the training materials have been carefully evaluated and have been found to be highly effective.[41]

At the present stage of development, however, CBTE is focusing on fairly discrete teaching skills such as questioning or reinforcing. An important contribution might be made if future identification of teaching skills were based upon the differential use of skills such as questioning *in the context of various instructional roles.* For example, the teacher as reporter would ask questions related to knowledge, comprehension, and application to get feedback on pupils' understanding of the concepts being presented. The questions would follow presentation of information by the teacher and thus would tend to occur toward the end of a lesson. The teacher as problem-setter would ask questions of knowledge analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. Questions would be used extensively throughout the entire lesson. The teacher as counselor would begin a lesson with an evaluation question and might move at a later point to questions of analysis and synthesis. Questions would tend to be mainly open-ended.

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[41] Walter R. Borg et al., *The Minicourse: A Microteaching Approach to Teacher Education* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Macmillan Educational Services, 1970).

Most of the other discrete teaching skills for which training materials already have been developed would also be applied differentially in various instructional roles. As teacher educators and developers of training materials continued to construct competency-based teacher education programs, they could move in the direction of training for differential use of teaching skills, thereby complementing the efforts of other groups of educators.

TEACHING THROUGH INTEGRATION OF ROLES

As noted earlier, there is evidence from studies of teacher effectiveness that teachers who vary their behavior periodically have pupils who achieve more and who are happier in school. Early studies on changing teachers' behavior indicated that it was possible to move them in a particular direction, such as exhibiting greater use of indirect patterns.[42] But it is only recently that research has indicated that teachers could be trained to perform effectively a variety of instructional roles and could display measurably different patterns of teaching behavior as they played different roles.[43] Now that this evidence exists, teachers might contribute to the improvement of elementary education by learning to play a variety of roles effectively.

This does not mean that every teacher should be equally adept at every conceivable role. It may well be that fantasies like this have stunted educational innovations for years. It would seem to be an achievable objective, however, that each teacher be competent to perform a minimum of three different instructional roles. An individual teacher might select the three roles most compatible with his own value system and personality.

Also, teachers could examine means of integrating the various instructional roles. Suggestions already have been outlined here as to how instructional roles could be integrated in various ways. If this is to occur, however, elementary teachers will need to admit that there is probably some value in each of the possible instructional roles.

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[42] Ned Flanders et al., "Helping Teachers Change Their Behavior," Final Report, U.S. Office of Education Project Nos. 1721012 and 7-32-0560-171.0, mimeographed (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1963).

[43] Joyce et al., "Models of Teaching," op. cit.

In the past century the transcendent pattern of teacher loyalty to instructional methods has been one of "serial monogamy," to borrow a metaphor from analyses of another basic social institution, the family. Each time a new panacea is suggested, teachers flock to try it for themselves. Each time they are disappointed because they accept the new instructional cure uncritically, without fully understanding its implications or its limitations. But eventually a new panacea comes along and they go through a new cycle of the same process.

What is proposed here is that teachers change this pattern and become "polygamous" in their loyalties to instructional roles. If teachers accept this direction for the future, then their efforts to improve elementary educational practice might complement the efforts of other educators more effectively.

STUDYING TRAIT-TREATMENT INTERACTION

One explanation for the paucity of research evidence to support the effectiveness of one instructional method over other methods is that a search for the "best" overall instructional results is predestined to fail. An area of research that has been expanding and developing in the past several years is that of "trait-treatment interaction."[44] This type of design for instructional research is responsive to the question of what is the best method of instruction for learners having a particular characteristic. Studies of this type incorporate a wide range of instructional alternatives or treatments into their designs in order to reveal those treatments that are particularly beneficial for particular subgroups of learners.

Some of the treatments that have been studied in this manner include inductive and deductive methods, structured and unstructured methods, questioning strategies, and programmed instruction. Some of the traits that have been investigated in relation to these treatments are age, sex, intelligence, conceptual level, cognitive style, verbal ability, achievement need, and anxiety level. These studies have been reviewed by Berliner and Cohen.[45] They note that significant interactions do occur and that these interactions have important implications for the design of instructional treatments. What the research strongly implies is that different students fare best in different instructional environments. What teachers need to know is which instructional roles to perform with particular students.

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[44] David C. Berliner and Leonard S. Cohen, "Trait-Treatment Interactions and Learning," in *Review of Research in Education*, ed. Fred N. Kerlinger (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1973).

Research on trait-treatment interaction has not yet reached an advanced stage. Most studies need to be replicated, and additional traits and treatments need to be investigated. But educational researchers probably could contribute greatly to the improvement of elementary practice by studying interactions between pupil traits and instructional roles. This direction of investigation could serve to complement the contributions of other educators.

ORGANIZING NEW STAFF UTILIZATION PATTERNS

Elementary school administrators have typically attempted to select and organize their staffs to form homogeneous groups of like-minded people. When teams are organized, they tend to include people who share the same values or who share preferences for similar roles. This gives team members a more secure and comfortable feeling and probably helps team-planning sessions to run smoothly. But it does not add to the variety of experiences available for pupils, except for the factor of the number of adults with whom each individual pupil may interact.

If it is true, as preliminary evidence indicates, that in the same environment some pupils thrive while others are retarded in their growth, then it seems imperative to provide different environments for different pupils. There are indications, however, that pupils need to be exposed at least briefly and periodically to environments which are not optimal for them at that point in time. In this way they learn to adapt to more situations. A reasonable conclusion would seem to be that any given pupil should have an opportunity to experience different instructional environments in order to have the opportunity to develop new traits and aptitudes. One way for administrators to provide this would be to assign a heterogeneous group of pupils to a heterogeneous team of teachers. The team of teachers would consist of individuals who were competent to perform *different* instructional roles effectively, so that a single team could provide pupils with the whole gamut of instructional environments. This form of organization could be attempted if teachers learned to see value in all instructional roles.

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[45] Ibid.

Elementary school administrators could contribute to the improvement of elementary education by reorganizing staffing patterns and encouraging the retraining of teachers. With such improvement, pupils would have increased opportunities to experience their optimal instructional environment as well as periodic opportunities to experience varieties of instructional roles. A move in this direction could implement the efforts of other educators.

Summary

This chapter has analyzed teaching in the elementary school from the perspective of instructional roles. Six major instructional roles currently being advocated and practiced have been discussed. It has been noted that there are clear discrepancies between the expected behaviors and the actual behaviors associated with each role. Functions to be served by each role and possibilities for integrating various roles have been explored. Some of the factors affecting the teacher's selection of roles have been discussed.

It has been suggested that improvement in elementary school teaching will require the concerted efforts of at least four different groups of educators. Any one group moving independently in new directions cannot expect to achieve extensive results. But all four groups moving together in complementary ways might make significant contributions to the future of elementary education.

CHAPTER XII

The School As Socializer

LOUIS M. SMITH
and
SALLY SCHUMACHER

Introductory Perspective

The elementary school is one part of a larger set of organizations, institutions, and processes which facilitate the development of the young immature child into adult status within the society. A careful analysis of "the school as socializer" suggests that attention needs to be directed toward the dimensions of the developing child, the processes occurring within the school as an organization, and finally the nature of the society of which he eventually becomes a part. These three elements—child, school, and society—when considered both separately and interdependently, provide a tangled web of values, theoretical concepts, and empirical data. It becomes, as a consequence, exceedingly difficult to untangle from all of this the socializing processes and effects of the elementary school. In a discussion which of necessity will be abstract and general, it is important to remember that the concrete and particular are the ultimate referents.

While our major orientation will be analytical in the sense of seeking to tease out the elements of a complex enterprise, a subordinate perspective will be historical. That is, we will try to note changes in conceptions and data since the turn of the century. For instance, at the beginning of this century Dewey wrote two short monographs entitled *Moral Principles in Education* (1909) and *The School and Society* (1900). His central thesis was quite simple —the social structure of the school and its latent processes rather than the formal curriculum are the major determiners of the socialization of children. School lessons in morality and citizenship are trivial and inconsequential. Dewey characterized traditional schools as those with centralized authority, a curriculum fostering "absorption and mere learning,"[1] a focus on means rather than intrinsic ends, and routine recitational methods which demanded of each child individual competition in conforming to a single external standard. There was no opportunity for each child to work on something specifically his own through which he could contribute to the learning of others while he, in turn, participated in their activities. He argued that these schools did *not* produce "ultimate moral motives and forces" which are "social intelligence—the power of observing and comprehending social situations—and social power—trained capacities of control—at work in the service of social interest and aims."[2] In short, after two-thirds of a century of social science inquiry in the schools, can we say that such a perspective is representative of the 1970s? Or, are there other "templates," models, and concepts which provide finer delineations of socialization processes and which perhaps suggest a more complex set of interrelationships between school, child, and society?

Ideals in American Society

In Dewey's early volumes, a major concern was expressed regarding the industrialization of society and its impact upon the schools and the children within the schools. In particular, Dewey was concerned about the transfer of many occupational tasks from the home to the factory and the consequent limitations in the experiences available to the child. The changes were pervasive in society and demanded a radical reorganization of the schools. In his own words:

> A society is a number of people held together because they are working along common lines, in common spirit, and with reference to common aims. The common needs and aims demand a growing interchange of thought and growing unity of sympathetic feeling. The radical reason that the present school cannot organize itself as a natural social unit is because just this element of common and productive activity is absent.[3]

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[1] John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), p. 21.

[2] Ibid., p. 43.

[3] John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900), pp. 27-28.

One might argue, as do many current social critics, that society is in rapid and often conflicting transition in the latter half of the twentieth century. The population explosion, increasing urbanization, the technological/ecological crisis, and confrontation on racial issues (the "American dilemma," as Myrdal phrased it a generation ago) have all raised major questions about national goals, human values, and the nature of the American community.

Social scientists, such as C. Wright Mills, offer educators the potent insight that the "nation state" is the critical unit and frame of reference for understanding most social issues. This is the social structure which defines many of our assumptions in problem-solving, which mobilizes and distributes resources, and which makes and carries out far-reaching decisions. The nation state is also the larger social structure into which our young people are being socialized. The sharpening of this focus and the spreading realization of its importance is a major contribution of recent social theory. While it is impossible in a brief statement to do justice to these issues, in our discussion we will highlight one major theme—unity and diversity in values.

It is common knowledge that American society reflects diversity and change. Still, there is a cultural unity in this nation. Americans of different national origins, social classes, geographic regions, ethnic and racial groups, economic incomes, religious beliefs, and political orientations have something in common: a set of values, the "American Creed," as Rose labeled it.[4] This set of values is found in documents such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. In an extended analysis, Oliver and Shaver postulate the single "ultimate" American value as that of human dignity.[5]

A second value in American society is rational consent as a method of resolving conflicts and promoting change. This second value refers to a commitment to open discussion among individuals and groups in order to arrive at mutually acceptable policy de-

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4. Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

5. Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966). Some scholars would argue that this is a more universal value. While we would agree, for the moment we anchor it in documents from the American experience.

cisions. Rational consent may be viewed as a *mediating value* or a bridge between the ultimate value of human dignity and the more specific values of the American Creed. Further, as compared to forms of coercion and thought control, it is more consistent with the ideal of human dignity. Through rational processes many disagreements about values as they operate in the society can be resolved. Figure 1 is a schematic diagram representing these relationships of values in American culture.

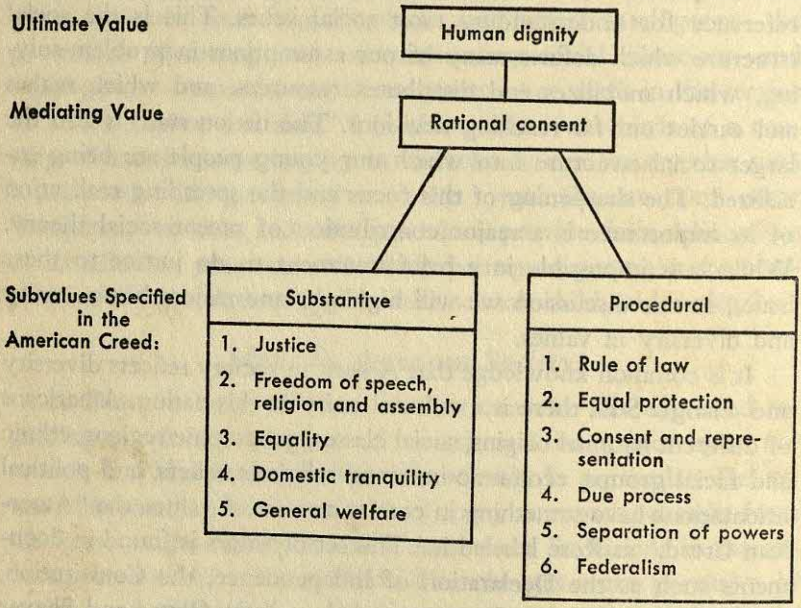

FIG. 1.—Interrelationships of values in American society

Adapted from Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966); Harold Berlak, "The Construct Validity of a Content Analysis System for the Evaluation of Critical Thinking in Political Controversy" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1963).

In summary, American society has changed considerably over the past seventy years. Also, the modes of conceptualization have become increasingly differentiated. Empirical data from the social sciences have presented a concrete reality with which theory and value claims have had to deal. In our view, the unity of the American society rests on the ultimate cultural value of the dignity of the individual and other values finding expression in the American Creed. The diversity in American society necessitates multiple ways of expressing, defining, and achieving the ideals through institutions and organizations, group processes, and individual behavior. The elementary school is the one public institution in which the child gains early firsthand experience in these processes.

Dimensions of the Developing Child

Our analysis of the developing child who moves into this society will encompass three major dimensions: moral development, acquisition of normative learnings, and personal meaningfulness. In effect, we will argue that these three broad domains of development, beginning in the elementary school years, are minimum requisites for participating in the kind of society we have been describing.

MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Moral development, growth in the individual's management of his behavior by acquiring values and standards of conduct, is at the heart of the socialization process. Moral judgment, a part of moral development, has recently undergone a major theoretical and empirical examination. Perhaps more clearly here than elsewhere one finds that major strides have been taken since Dewey's analysis. The conceptualization of stages of moral development by Kohlberg and his associates as preconventional, conventional, and postconventional[6] is a clear advance over Dewey's concept of "social intelligence"—the ability to observe and comprehend social situations.

As indicated in figure 2, each of the three levels of moral development is subdivided into stages. Briefly, at the preconventional level, judgments of right and wrong involve a "might is right" and a simple hedonism. At the conventional level there is an active support of the rules, law, and authority of the society and a pleasing of others, that is, a kind of fixed law-and-order definition of "right." Finally, at the postconventional level, a more autonomous and universalistic set of standards is achieved. Democratic constitutionalism and individual conscience, the definition of right and wrong based on a comprehensive, consistent, and general set of principles, are the categories.

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[6] Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Concepts of Developmental Psychology as Central Guide to Education: Examples from Cognitive, Moral, and Psychological Education," in *Proceedings of the Conference on Psychology and the Process of Schooling in the Next Decade: Alternative Conceptions*, ed. Maynard C. Reynolds (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1971); June L. Tapp and Lawrence Kohlberg, "Developing Senses of Law and Legal Justice," *Journal of Social Issues* 27 (1971): 85-86.

III. Postconventional
  6. Universal ethic
  5. Social contract
II. Conventional
  4. Law and order
  3. Interpersonal concordance (good boy)
I. Preconventional
  2. Instrumental relativism
  1. Physical power

FIG. 2.—Kohlberg's scheme of moral development

An important point of conflict exists between this scheme and our earlier analysis of ideals in American society. As defined, our society is at stage 5, the social contract stage of the postconventional level. Individuals who are at stage 6, the universal ethic level, and who dissent from societal positions established by democratic agreements pose unresolved conflict.

The method of measuring moral development used by Kohlberg and his colleagues has been the content analysis of free interview responses that a child makes to ten hypothetical moral dilemmas. Their research suggests a number of generalizations:

1. The conventional level is modal for most cultures; some 50-60 percent are at stage four, law and order.
2. At any point in a child's development, about half of his ideas are at his modal stage and the other half are split between the preceding stage and the other not yet crystallized stage.
3. Cross-cultural data from Mexico, Taiwan, and Turkey (obtained from both middle-class urban and from rural poor in each country) suggest the generality of the stages—although major differences exist in rate of movement through the stages.
4. In U.S. culture, scores in early adolescence (thirteen and sixteen years) correlate highly (.8 to .9) with scores obtained in young

adulthood. Adulthood seems to add consistency and integration rather than further development.

Even more significant for our present purpose are the following points:

5. "The role of the educator or socializer is to stimulate and facilitate youth to higher cognitive positions." [7]
6. ". . . experience-based activity involving conflict resolution, problem-solving, participation in decision-making, and role-taking opportunities beget compliance and independence of more than an uncritical law and order sort." [8]
7. Peer group "stars," in contrast to isolates, display more rapid and more mature moral development.
8. The match in socializing encounters that best lends itself to increased development is to present a point of view one step higher than the child's current level of development.

In short, the analysis of moral judgment offers an intriguing and sophisticated way of conceptualizing "the common man who has the capacity to make intelligent political and social decisions," that is, the individual who is a requisite for the functioning of American society. The educative influences expressed in the last three generalizations suggest implications for the elementary school.

GENERALIZED NORMATIVE OUTCOMES

Most discussions of instructional processes in the schools refer to cognitive learnings in one of the disciplines—mathematics, science, social studies, literature. Often the affective and behavioral components of schooling are ignored, if not denied. In contrast to the usual analysis, Dreeben, in a provocative essay, develops the theoretical position that "normative outcomes" are not only a major aspect of socialization, but also an aspect that is peculiarly the result of the school's structural properties.[9] Explicitly, one learns principles of conduct and one learns to act according to these principles. The principles are labeled *normative outcomes* because they refer to the social norms existing in schools. In brief, the elementary school child learns from the experience of participating in the tasks, from coping with the constraints, and from exploiting the opportunities within the school's social structure. Dreeben explicitly stresses four kinds of normative learnings possible within the child's school experience: *independence*, *achievement*, *universalism*, and *specificity*. *Independence* is learning to accept obligations, personal responsibility, and to be accountable for one's conduct and its consequences. *Achievement* refers to performance of tasks and mastery of environments at a level of acceptable excellence. *Universalism* is acknowledging the right of others to treat one as a member of a category, e.g., as a boy, a second-grader, and a pupil in Miss Jones's class. *Specificity* refers to learning the range of interests open to consideration by another individual. For example, the reading teacher's concern for a child overlaps only partially with that of the physical education or art teacher. Relationships with peers have limited scope in the class. Demands upon the child become specified and relevant to particular situations, tasks, and goals.

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[7] Tapp and Kohlberg, op. cit., p. 85.

[8] Ibid., p. 86.

[9] Robert Dreeben, *On What Is Learned in School* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1968).

While Dreeben's empirical evidence is more indirect than direct, he demonstrates logically how the school structure provides opportunities for the normative learnings. One of the most interesting implications is the degree to which these learnings, universalism, for instance—being able to see oneself as an exemplar of a category, such as pupil, boy, or third-grader—are prerequisite to the kind of thinking involved in moral judgments. One is reminded of the basic concepts of equality, reversibility, and conservation delineated by Piaget as necessary for logical thinking in other areas. Fairness and justice as more general values seem to have normative learnings as prerequisites. If Dreeben's argument is sound, it is only as the child moves out of the family (where he is treated almost totally as an individual, that is, as a special instance) and into a larger, more bureaucratic setting such as a school (where he is treated as a member of a category) that he acquires these normative learnings.

PERSONAL MEANINGFULNESS

A third major dimension of socialization goes by many names: among them, personal development, mental health, self-actualization, and identity. *Personal meaningfulness* is the term we will use for the phenomenon of finding one's own satisfaction and significance in daily living in the context of the elementary school and later in the context of family, job, and community. Our conception implies that each individual is a complex of needs and desires which include security, recognition, and self-expression. These needs and desires have both momentary and long-term manifestations. They vary in arousal from situation to situation. These long-term characteristics seem to reflect a basic core—an enduring sense of self-awareness and self-direction. Perhaps the most general statement of such outcomes is Maslow's conceptualizations of *self-actualization*, *being psychology*, and *peak experiences*.[10]

Maslow argued that individuals seek experiences which they see as ends in themselves rather than as instrumentalities to other goals. The moments of highest happiness and individual fulfillment are what he called peak experiences. The specific content of such experiences is to a high degree idiosyncratic to the individual. Individuals who have more frequent and more intense episodes of peak experiences are more self-actualizing and, in our terms, have attained personal meaningfulness. Self-defined individuality lies at the heart of the conception of human dignity, the postulated core value of our culture. In a very basic sense, the school socializes best as it promotes diversity among individuals.

To summarize, we have defined socialization as moral development, normative learnings, and personal meaningfulness. Recognizing that any generalization represents some imprecision, we suggest the following points. First (in one respect they are three variations of a single theme), (a) the relationship of an individual to the values and institutions of his society, (b) the relationship of an individual to different groups and situations, and (c) the relationship of an individual's behavior to his own definition of personal meaningfulness. Second, the underlying concept of the child is one of a changing individual, whether the change be labeled developmental, processual, or interactional. Third, we believe that a child is involved in the several socialization processes simultaneously and at different times in his elementary schooling. This involvement takes place as he learns to behave in relation to values, groups and settings, and personal meaningfulness. We look now at aspects of the school's role in these processes.

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[10] Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, 2d ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1968).

Schools and Classrooms

SCHOOLS

Schools in society. The schools lie midway between the child's years in the family and his life in society as a young adult. It seems a fair question, then, to ask, "What experiences occur in schools as schools?" In other words, if we disregard differences among schools and contrast schools with other institutions, what are the structural characteristics unique to schools that may effect the child's socialization processes?

Turning once more to Dreeben, he assumes a commonality among all organizations called "schools" and then contends that schools can do some things to children that cannot be done by families, churches, or mass media. He distinguishes between schools and families along a half-dozen dimensions. *First,* school units are larger than a family—an obvious point since elementary schools often enroll several hundred pupils. *Second,* as a concomitant of the size factor, the population of the school is considerably more heterogeneous than the family. *Third,* the elementary school, with rather few exceptions, has formally designated subdivisions: grades, classes, tracks, and so forth. *Fourth,* the duration of the child's relationships with adults is much shorter in school. Now that one-room schools are a rarity, each year a child has at least one new teacher and when the school is departmentalized, he has several teachers. Dreeben speaks of this as "serially establishing and severing relationships with adults." Schools differ from families in a *fifth* way, the relative number of adults and nonadults present in the setting. One immediate consequence of this situation is a shift in the amount of personal interest an adult can give to an individual child. On the other hand, the possibility of a child developing an extreme dependency relationship with the adult is diminished. Because of the larger number of pupils and because of the school's subdivisions, the classroom unit differs from the family in yet another striking manner: age homogeneity prevails and ability and background heterogeneity is much more pronounced. Heterogeneity in age, social class, ethnicity, and values is almost invariably greater among a group of teachers than it is between a child's parents. Finally, while the classroom has a more restricted set of activities than has a family, much of the activity is carried on publicly. As we indicated, such differences in home and school seem crucial for a variety of pupil learnings.[11]

Pluralism of schools. Turning now to the variety of elementary school organizational patterns, one may ask if patterns promote different socialization processes. Conceptualizations of school organizational patterns are usually dichotomized as (a) traditional versus progressive,[12] (b) traditional in the sense of a closed system versus an open system,[13] or (c) traditional in the sense of bureaucratic procedures versus democratic procedures.[14] In a recent attempt to develop a clearer differentiation of school organization and its relationship to society, Grannis suggested several ideal types of schools. His conception of the schools, while broad and Deweyan in origin, reflects contemporary society. The four ideal types are (a) the *family* school, (b) the *factory* school, (c) the *corporation* school, and (d) the *community* school.[15]

The *family school* label is indicative of schools and classes more like the family as it was before the turn of the century when many economic activities and different roles were carried on in the home. Currently, a few of the British infant and primary schools reflect something of this approach. Grannis characterizes family schools as those with multiple age levels of children; a less formalized task structure (i.e., fewer recitations, lessons, and textbooks); activity centers for science, creative and manual arts, and reading; and an appeal to more spontaneous and immediate needs and interests of the child. In an important sense, an attempt is made to lessen the home-school differences we described earlier.

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[11] Philip Jackson's *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968) makes a very similar set of points as he writes of "the daily grind": success and failure as public performances, the gross number of hours spent in school, the routines, the gross differences in teacher's and pupil's power, and so forth.

[12] Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education*, op. cit.

[13] Bridget Plowden, chairman, *Children and Their Primary Schools*, 2 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967); Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[14] Louis M. Smith and Pat M. Keith, *Anatomy of Educational Innovation* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971).

[15] Joseph C. Grannis, "The School as a Model of Society," *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin* (1967).

The *factory school* label conjures up images of child-labor abuses in New England mills of several generations ago. It was originally to induct immigrants and rural youth into an industrialized society. The specific referent today, however, is the "box-like" schools of self-contained and/or departmentalized classrooms.[16] Elements of standardization and routines are readily apparent. Pupils are grouped by age and sometimes ability; knowledge is divided into often arbitrary curricula and is processed in textbooks; teachers are responsible for quite specific activities; and stress is placed on pupil conformity to external standards.

The corporation school reflects another kind of society and has been developing in another setting, the suburbs. Its function is to induct youth into the patterns of a corporately organized society. A corporation school is characterized by an emphasis on systematic planning, specialization of teaching skills, and use of technology. There is a hierarchy of roles which are filled by the school administrators, team leaders, teachers, teacher aides, and students. The school plant is often composed of a variety of types of study centers for individuals and groups and provides technical equipment such as computers, teaching machines, projectors, tape recorders, and headsets. Rational coordination of tasks, times, equipment, and settings, often with a programmed curriculum, may result in considerable interdependency within the system and a lack of spontaneity in learning activities.

Finally, the *community school* represents yet another attempt to wrestle with a model of society. More explicitly, the concern with the changing family structure and the depersonalization in both the factory and corporate type of schools has provoked this attempt at a more integrated community school arrangement as the prototype for a different kind of society and socialization processes into that society. Political education consists of a variety of dialogues with different constituencies and of student involvement in politics. The elderly are directly involved in the education of the young in a variety of roles including that of readers, historians, and, in some cases, even as artists or craftsmen in residence. Curriculum concepts and procedures are viewed as demonstrating how men participate in disciplines for their own personal and social value.

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[16] Smith and Keith (op. cit., pp. 211-51) suggest some major differences in the interdependence and the coordination of elements in a cooperative organizational structure.

School organization and socialization. Our concern for schools as formal organizations suggests several theoretical considerations which seem more powerful than those voiced by Dewey at the turn of the century. These considerations also question Dreeben's generalized views as to normative outcomes. While the possibilities of conceptualizing educational events in organizational theory are very rich, we will note only one here—Etzioni's comparative organizational theory.[17] He argues that organizations can be categorized in terms of their means of control as *normative*, *punitive*, or *remunerative*. Normative controls are essentially symbolic; people are to do things because it is "right" or "good." Churches, for instance, tend to be normative. Punitive refers to use of coercion and punishment to control organizational members. Prisons are an appropriate illustration. The remunerative or utilitarian mode refers to control through rewards such as money. Businesses are a good example. Etzioni argues that the mode of control has important consequences in relation to compliance, commitment, and alienation—outcomes most people would see as important.

Applying Etzioni's distinctions of normative, punitive, and remunerative control to the elementary school would raise such questions as: Do schools use primarily one mode of social control? Do middle-class schools differ from lower-class schools in control structure? Do principals, teachers, and parents share ideals about control procedures? Are there significant variations between the purposes of a school's control structure and the activities, interactions, and sentiments within a school? A congruent social psychological conception, social power, might be commented upon in this same context. Power, as usually defined, is a relational concept reflecting the degree to which one individual can influence another individual or group of individuals. One useful conception suggests that the bases of power reside in five domains: reward, coercion, reference, legitimacy, and expertness.[18] Does the elementary school have several bases for social power which interact? If so, how does this affect the child's learning?

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[17] Amitái Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

The most graphic illustration of the potentiality of these conceptualizations is the recent spread of behavior modification and reinforcement systems or token economies in elementary schools.[19] If a behavior modification system is implemented, does a shift from coercive to remunerative and/or from normative to remunerative control structure follow? What consequences occur? How valuable are these? Is the teacher's position in the school structure enhanced or is her reward power increased significantly? Does this indicate, then, a decline in a teacher's coercive power? Does a teacher's social power as an "expert" also decline? How does such a change influence instructional goals and socialization processes?

In short, Dreeben makes a convincing theoretical case for the schools as half-way houses between the family and the adult society into which the child eventually moves. By accenting the commonalities among schools, he plays down the richness of the differences among and between them. Operating from a social science perspective, Dreeben charts institutional life as predominantly influenced by forces that are beyond individual control. Our brief presentation of Etzioni's model carries more explicit value components and suggests questions concerning desirability and modifiability of the institutions we call schools. Finally, Grannis's conception throws us into current attempts to reorganize schools, be they along an infant school model, bureaucratic models, or a community model. Graphically, he indicates that beyond the academic learnings there is a concern for the broader implications and consequences of these models: the kind of society we wish to reflect or to build.

THE CLASSROOM AS A SMALL SOCIETY

Since the self-contained classroom, the basis of what Grannis calls the factory school, remains the most prevalent model (see chapter 9) and since most educational research takes the format of the self-contained classroom as an unexamined assumption, we will focus primarily on this unit. The question we raise is: "What is life like in 'the classroom as a small society'?"

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[18] John R. French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in *Group Dynamics*, ed. Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, chap. 20 (New York: Harper & Row, 1960).

[19] R. Hamblin et al., *The Humanization Process* (New York: John Wiley

Behavioral settings as social niches. To demonstrate relationships among school size, behavior settings, and social participation, we will move for the moment from our focus on the elementary classroom to the secondary school. In an engrossing study, Barker and Gump noted several key relationships. The number of behavior settings, i.e., niches in the environment, increased slowly (fivefold) as the size of the schools increased dramatically (twentyfold).[20] It was as though the system in order to remain intact needed a minimum number of settings, e.g., a football team, a school newspaper, a debating club, and so forth. Once there was one such setting, seldom did more appear, even in large schools. High schools with small student bodies made strong demands for students to engage in multiple activities. Further, such activities frequently involved leadership and responsibility. The school was giving important training in various social and interpersonal relationships, including moral development. (See our summary of Kohlberg's position.) The series of propositions might read: If the school size is small, then there will be more social niches per student. If there are more niches, then there will be more . . . "experience-based activity involving conflict resolution, problem-solving, participation in decision-making, and role-taking." [21] If there is more experience-based activity, then there will be more moral development.

The basic question which concerns us is the extrapolation to the elementary school. To the best of our knowledge, elementary schools and classrooms have not been examined from this theoretical position.[22] Our guess is that restriction of settings and niches would be even less desirable in the elementary school.

& Sons, 1971); Louis M. Smith and Patricia Carpenter, *General Reinforcement Package Project: Qualitative Observations and Interpretations* (St. Ann, Mo.: CEMREL, Inc., 1972).

[20] Roger G. Barker and Paul V. Gump, *Big School, Small School* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964).

[21] Tapp and Kohlberg, op. cit., p. 86.

[22] Beginnings of such comparisons among home, camp, and school and within classes appear in Roger G. Barker, "The Stream of Behavior as an Empirical Problem," in *The Stream of Behavior*, ed. Roger G. Barker (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963); Paul V. Gump, *The Classroom Be-*

Normative structure. The expectations that groups generate for their members have been the subject of considerable theoretical and empirical analysis.[23] Structurally, a group norm is a commonly held expectation that a recognized range of behavior in certain situations will receive group approval. Conversely, behaviors outside of this range will receive group disapproval. The normative outcome described by Dreeben illustrates very well four general group norms which may exist in schools, but the normative structure is more pervasive in group life than that specification. Norms, in effect, become the social realities which define for the individual what is judged to be good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate, successful and unsuccessful. For instance, in the Washington School, the school norms were "pupil control," "traditional teaching," "textbook instruction," and such subcomponents as "personalized interaction." For the pupils, the teacher purposely tried to develop norms regarding such presumed virtues as "be here, behave yourself, do your work." In turn, the pupils came to assign special qualities to individual children, which we have called *pupil roles*.[24] In contrast, the social reality of the Kensington School was very different. Its norms stressed democratic control, individualized instruction, and idiosyncratic pupil development.[25] In conclusion, we suggest that normative structures will vary from school to school as well as from classroom to classroom and that they will have implications for socialization as we have defined these processes.

Classroom pupil roles. A conceptual step away from normative structures in elementary schools is the evolving pattern of expecta-

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havior Setting: Its Nature and Relation to Student Behavior (Washington: Project 2453, U.S. Office of Education, 1967).

[23] For example, Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, eds., *Group Dynamics*, 2d ed. (New York: Row Peterson, 1960); George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950); Jay M. Jackson, "Structural Characteristics of Norms," chap. 7 in *The Dynamics of Instructional Groups*, Fifty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1960); Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, *Reference Groups* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

[24] Louis M. Smith and William Geoffrey, *The Complexities of an Urban Classroom: An Analysis Toward a General Theory of Teaching* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

[25] Smith and Keith, op. cit.

tions regarding the behavior and performance of children in a classroom. As children work and live together, they become a group with a structure which involves social positions and roles. Smith and Geoffrey present in some detail the nature of this social evolution as it occurred in the Washington School classroom. In their analysis, the general role of "pupil" was primarily determined by the teacher through the use of techniques such as clarity, grooving, follow through, softening the tone, and emphasis. Specially assigned roles—for instance, as monitors for assignments, cleaning the chalkboard, distributing paper, and so forth—were developed interactionally between the teacher and children. Finally (and more predominantly determined by the children themselves) were individual roles: Sam, the "court jester," Sandy, the classroom "Lolita," and several children considered to be "on contract with the teacher," a phrase which implied, "if you don't bother me, I won't bother you." The models of hypothesized causal relationships as they pertain to pupil roles are congruent with the general thesis of this chapter. Figure 3 presents a strand of that reasoning.[26] This figure suggests to us that when faculty norms of traditional teaching, pupil control, and textbook instruction are combined with a teacher's personalized interaction in the classroom, pupil outcomes may vary more than Dewey suggested in his generalized descriptions of traditional schools. Specifically, we hypothesize linkages between a highly differentiated pupil-role structure in the classroom and individual self-conceptions. The latter is intimately related to our conception of personal meaningfulness.

Teacher roles. The model presented as figure 3 has implications for teacher role and provides as well an illustration of our prior concerns for differentiated pupil-role structure and such socialization outcomes as individualized self-conceptions. Personalized interaction is an illustration of a larger point—the need for a more fine-grained analysis of teacher role. Dewey's conception of traditional vs. progressive and later, but similar, conceptions of teacher-centered or learner-centered, dominative vs. integrative, direct vs. indirect influence have dominated classroom analysis. The most in-

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[26] Smith and Geoffrey, op. cit. It is important to note that Smith and Geoffrey, in the context of participant observational field work, present these as hypotheses, not as verified propositions.

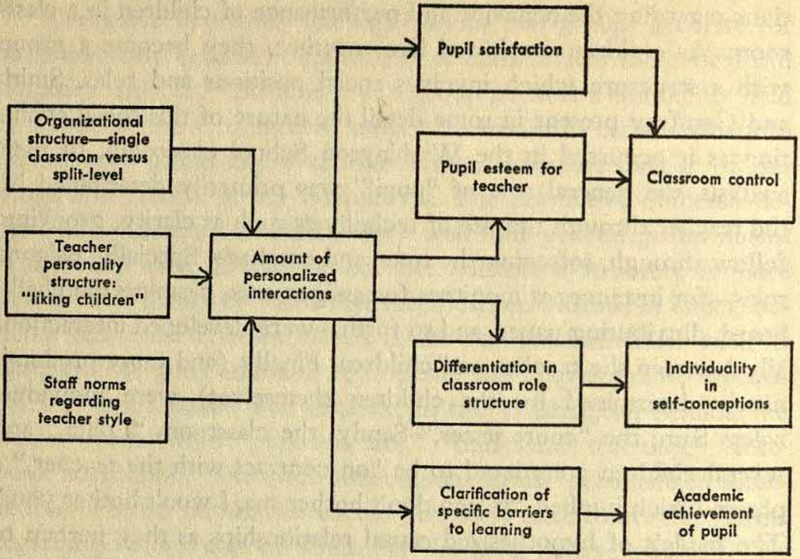
Pupil satisfaction
Organizational structure—single classroom versus split-level
Pupil esteem for teacher
Classroom control
Teacher personality structure: "liking children"
Amount of personalized interactions
Staff norms regarding teacher style
Differentiation in classroom role structure
Individuality in self-conceptions
Clarification of specific barriers to learning
Academic achievement of pupil

FIG. 3.—A miniature theory of personalized interaction

Source: Louis M. Smith and William Geoffrey, *The Complexities of an Urban Classroom: An Analysis Toward a General Theory of Teaching* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), p. 18.

tensive empirical investigation of a more analytic position regarding teacher role has been made by Kounin. His dependent variables, freedom from deviancy and work involvement, also are especially relevant to the present analysis. They are two dimensions of overt compliance, short-term goals of socialization. Kounin presents multiple correlations of .7 to .8 between facets of teacher role and compliance. Specifically he notes such elements as "variety," "momentum," "group alerting," and "with-itness." The relationships between these behaviors and long-term moral development, individualized self-conceptions, personal meaningfulness, and general normative outcomes are not known.[27]

Even more intriguing in the context of social values are several conceptions of teacher behavior raised in Smith and Geoffrey's analysis of an urban classroom. They speak of the teacher's use of "situational thinking" and "provisional trials" among a number of options which are open to the teacher. Situational thinking involves the teacher's discrimination between "here" in class and "out there" in the neighborhood and community. To the pupils, the teacher seemed to be arguing that some behavior, especially modes of speaking and writing in language arts, varied with the situation one was in. In class, the pupils would speak and write one way; outside, the children would speak in other ways. One of the hypothesized consequences was a resolution of social-class value conflicts, for neither alternative was labeled all good or all bad. The "provisional try" was a gambit on the teacher's part with the expectation that certain social arrangements were for the moment, as his comments to an assignment monitor indicate: "We'll try it for a while and see how it goes." This kind of tentativeness in the system seemed to introduce fluidity into the group structure, gave the teacher options in his plan, and made for flexibility in the situation. The impact of conditions such as these on pupil moral judgment is not known. Presumably they serve to "stimulate youth to higher cognitive positions."

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[27] J. S. Kounin, *Discipline and Group Management in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).

Social rank as sentiment structure. Extensions of the existence and implications of pupil roles and group norms are provided by sociometric studies. Because of the ease of administration and the quantifiability of sociometric techniques as measuring devices, considerable data have been obtained from elementary classrooms.[28] We will present a series of propositions which seem especially relevant with respect to socialization, which appear to be supported by the literature, and which pose a dilemma or two for the teacher.

1. Beginning in the primary grades, children in classrooms live with the realities of social rank, that is, hierarchies of acceptance with the extremes labeled *stars* and *rejects*.
2. This social ranking or sentiment hierarchy develops very quickly in the life of a group, including school classrooms.[29]

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[28] John D. Glidewell et al., "Socialization and Social Structure in the Classroom," in *Review of Child Development Research*, vol. 2, ed. Lois W. Hoffman and Martin L. Hoffman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1966); Norman Gronlund, *Sociometry in the Classroom* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959).

[29] Louis M. Smith, "A Validity Study of Six Personality and Adjustment Tests for Children" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1955); idem, "The Concurrent Validity of Six Personality and Adjustment Tests for Children," *Psychological Monographs* 72 (1958).

3. Pupil social rankings are as stable from year to year in the elementary school as the rankings on intelligence and achievement.[30]
4. The major correlates of social rank in elementary classes are mental health, general intelligence, and social-class backgrounds.[31]

More tenuously established, but provocative, are certain additional findings.

5. Teacher awareness of sociometric hierarchy is correlated with pupil esteem for the teacher.[32]
6. Teacher perception of a given hierarchy correlates with classroom morale and productivity.[33]
7. Teacher support of the hierarchy is related to morale and productivity.[34]

The essence of this analysis lies in the paradox or dilemma contained in the propositions. The teacher who recognizes and supports a classroom status system may facilitate the desirable group goals of productivity and morale. At the same time, he also seems to support a group structure that is hazardous to the mental health of some individuals, one that may even lock in the student to more permanent social-class status. Thus, social rank has implications for the development of the child's personal meaningfulness in relation to group norms.

Activity structure: curriculum and instructional tasks. Up to this point we have been viewing what a child may learn about himself and his society through the informal social system in the classroom as demonstrated by pupil roles, group norms, and social rank. We turn now to the tasks which children perform in relation to the school's instructional goals, and we begin by referring to Dewey's thesis cited earlier. His position was that the social structure of the school and its latent processes as compared to the formal curriculum were the major determinants of the socialization process. Dewey's concerns about "lessons in morality" stemmed from a fear of moral verbalism or what he called "ideas about morality," which actually did not influence social action. A variant of that fear is the conclusion which two recent investigators, Zellman and Sears, reached with regard to the effects of social studies lessons. In their words:

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[30] M. Bonney, "The Constancy of Sociometric Scores and Their Relationship to Teacher Judgments of Social Success and Personality Ratings," *Sociometry* 6 (1943):409-24.

[31] Smith, "A Validity Study," and Smith, "The Concurrent Validity," op. cit.

[32] Louis M. Smith and Paul F. Kleine, "Teacher Awareness: Social Cognition in the Classroom," *School Review* 77 (1969):245-56.

[33] I. Bogen, "Pupil-Teacher Rapport and the Teacher's Awareness of Status Structure in the Group," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 28 (1954): 104-14.

[34] Lucy Polansky, "Group Social Climate and the Teacher's Supportiveness of Group Status Systems," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 28 (1954): 115-23.

> In this sense, early political socialization fails to teach the true meaning of American democracy. It succeeds in teaching the child affection for the American system and distaste for its ostensible enemies. It succeeds in teaching the conventional slogans of the American system. However, it fails utterly to convey the unique and desirable feature of the American system, namely, its tolerance for diversity and individual liberties.[35]

Before accepting this conclusion uncritically, we need to turn to several basic definitions and caveats. First, no concern is noted for the discrepancy in social ideals and social realities which permeates our society. Second, in one sense, the socialization process is working very well: the children are gradually approximating the adult culture. Slogans, conventional morality (in Kohlberg's sense), maintenance of traditional authority, rules, and law is the modal adult pattern. Third, the assumption is made that schools should improve or reform society rather than reflect it.

The questions we would pose here are: Can the instructional activities in which pupils participate effect socialization defined as moral development, normative outcomes, and personal meaningfulness? Can different kinds of curriculum tasks promote one aspect of socialization over another? In answering these queries we would say that instructional tasks may be categorized as those resulting from the official informal and formal curriculum and the existing classroom curriculum. The official *informal* curriculum consists of the school's physical setting and noninstructional arrangements; for instance, an American flag in every classroom; pictures of national heroes and events; the school's recognition of national holidays, like Veteran's Day; and the rituals during assembly programs, such as the "Pledge of Allegiance," and singing of the national anthem.

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[35] Gail L. Zellman and David O. Sears, "Childhood Origins of Tolerance for Dissent," *Journal of Social Issues* 27 (1971):134.

The official *formal* curriculum consists of the materials which a pupil interacts with or responds to, for example: textbooks, art materials, library books, films, and drama scripts. The *existing* classroom curriculum consists of tasks and activities as they occur in a class with a teacher in a particular school and community social-economic-intellectual culture with a collection of individual pupils organized as a class.

If one turns to the official formal curriculum, particularly the course content (and correlated teaching strategies and pupil activities), it is possible to infer that major curriculum projects of the last decade and a half have produced materials and methods which appear to facilitate increased personal and moral development. In most content areas careful efforts have been made to integrate a broader base of knowledge in the curriculum and to develop sequential instructional tasks of two or more years' duration in the elementary school rather than to rely on isolated or ad hoc courses, units, or lessons. More important, from our perspective, is the increased concern with how children learn in ways other than through memorization and recitation. One finds an emphasis on the "creative" aspects of the arts, the "discovery method" in such a field as mathematics, the "process approach" or methods of inquiring in the sciences, and "critical thinking" and "problem-solving" in the social studies and language arts.[36] Thus, children of twelve or younger may be involved in cognitive and social learning tasks about problematic situations and may be developing other methods of self-expression. We feel that children of elementary school age learn to behave differently in these tasks than in those which reward "right answers" and "behaving well."[37] Unfortunately, these approaches appear frequently to be dropped by the wayside as new materials move into the classroom.

To clarify further our conception of activity structure and its relationships to socialization, we can look at recent developments in social studies curriculum.[38] At the elementary school level, Berlak and Tomlinson's Washington University Social Science Project concentrates on moral-ethical and social dilemmas confronting an individual, a family, or a community in American society. Each unit in the elementary curriculum centers on a set of issues that seem never to resolve themselves in a final sense: (a) equal access vs. privilege; (b) social concern vs. individualism; (c) change vs. stability; (d) conformity vs. freedom; (e) freedom vs. privatism; (f) autonomy vs. general welfare; and (g) control of conflict.

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[36] J. Galen Saylor and W. M. Alexander, *Curriculum Planning for Modern Schools* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966).

[37] Kohlberg, op. cit.

[38] Oliver and Shaver, op. cit.; Harold Berlak and Timothy Tomlinson, "Analysis of Need and Argument for a New Elementary School Social Studies Curriculum," and "A Proposal for an Elementary School Social Science Curriculum," in *Elementary-School Social Studies Curriculum: Grades 4-6,*

The major goal of the curriculum is competency with respect to thought processes that help children clarify social and ethical issues. The analytical thought-process model involves ways of resolving definitional, factual, and value problems in discussions. More specifically, this includes reviewing arguments, understanding arguments on both sides of the dilemma, taking an initial position, contending with arguments, developing analogies, and resolving inconsistencies. Pupils are involved in a variety of tasks such as extended role play, games, working with art materials, writing, and discussion.

Dewey believed that social intelligence and social power did not follow from "lessons in morality" and recitational methods. Today, with changes in the selection of subject matter and in instructional tasks, there appears to be more opportunity for a child to develop personal moral standards and judgments within a school situation. Thus, an official formal curriculum such as we have been describing in elementary social studies provides methods for a child to sort out various values fundamental to our society. In addition, if such an elementary curriculum is implemented as classroom pupil activities, it appears that these tasks have implications for classroom social niches, group norms, pupil roles, pupil social rank, and teacher roles. These implications have been explored descriptively and conceptually in great detail but have not been verified experimentally.[39]

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mimeo. (St. Louis: Graduate Institute of Education, Washington University, 1969).

[39] E. Seif, "A Conceptual Analysis of Thought Process and Instructional Strategies Based on Field Observations of Elementary School Classrooms" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1971); J. Applegate, "A Description and Analysis of Role Playing As a Student Activity in an Elementary Classroom" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1971); and W. Solomon, "Toward the Development of a Theory of Teaching: A Participant Observer's Study of the Experimental Trial of Lessons from a Social Studies Curriculum Project" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1971).

Unfortunately, also, these goals have not always been implemented in the classroom context.

Summary and Conclusion

The simple expression, "the school as socializer," reflects the latent complexities of school, society, and the developing child's transition from the home through school and into society. We have presented an analytical focus, with a subordinate historical perspective, on ways of viewing socialization of the child. Our discussion has accented the thread of values. In American society, the value of human dignity, which we postulate as the ultimate value, is both explicated and furthered by a series of subordinate values built into basic political documents such as the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Some of these values are substantive and others procedural. Considerations of socialization must take account of this societal context.

The child who is involved in the process of socialization might well be analyzed in terms of moral development, normative learnings, and personal meaningfulness. Once again, the thread of values runs through the analysis. Values are intertwined with both conceptual analysis and empirical data. Normative outcomes such as universalism and independence seem essential for moral development and for personal meaningfulness.

Our account of schools and classrooms stresses both the commonalities of schools, especially as they differ from institutions such as the family, and differences among schools, especially as they reflect different conceptions of society. We grappled in some detail with the self-contained classroom as a small society, an important reference group for the developing child. Classroom norms, pupil roles, activities and tasks, and the social ranking or sentiment structure provide a social reality in which the child learns a number of things about himself and society. For the teacher, a number of dilemmas are presented regarding short-term versus long-term outcomes, the welfare of the individual versus the welfare of the group, freedom versus compliance. These dilemmas not only resemble but reflect accurately the more general societal conflicts. In a sense, we have come full circle.

In short, our most general conclusion is that the conceptualizations of socialization processes in the school are increasingly rich. The conceptual templates suggested in Dewey's provocative monographs at the turn of the century seem simple by comparison with current models. The empirical attack on socialization processes in the schools is more labored. Measuring instruments remain open to question. Varied modes of inquiry offer strength in the kinds of data generated but difficulties in theoretical synthesis. The vigor and variety of schools and classrooms, reflecting different societal conceptions and ideals, seem an important part of the elementary school scene. In our judgment, the descriptive and analytic realities of such schooling deserve a high priority on the agenda of social scientists concerned with elementary education.

We have not wrestled *directly* with the major question of how one can alter, change, or improve a classroom or a school to facilitate specific socialization processes.[40] That remains implicit in our present discussion. In chapter 14 some of the problems and approaches become explicit.

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[40] The complexity, excitement, and frustration in one major attempt at such reform in elementary education is recounted and analyzed in *Anatomy of Educational Innovation* (Smith and Keith, op. cit.).

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SECTION IV

CHANGE TODAY AND TOMORROW

CHAPTER XIII

The Urban Elementary School Today

JAY D. SCRIBNER
and
OWEN KNOX

Introduction

The urban elementary school, an institution of singular significance in our society, is under siege by many of the social and political forces of contemporary urban life. Some scholars have noted that the concept of the elementary school as a preserve of tradition is much more accurate than the idea that it is an institution capable of changing society. Though the school can be both a product and a shaper of society, unimpressive gains in the lot of the urban poor suggest that the elementary school has played the former role.

The elementary school is the focus of attention for several reasons. First, it provides a formal beginning for skills which presumably foster economic and social success in society. Second, psychological study reveals that self-concepts are formed during childhood. The elementary school years appear to have a cumulative impact greater than other levels of schooling since boys and girls in urban environments may receive little or no secondary education but almost all attend the full complement of elementary school years.

Given the importance of the elementary school to urban neighborhoods and children in them, it is important to examine the forces affecting it. The first half of the chapter explores sociopolitical forces which press upon urban school districts, creating the need

The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance in the preparation of this chapter provided by Mary Milne, a doctoral student in the Graduate School of Education, UCLA.

for innovation and change. The second half examines responses on the part of educators and society to these forces for change.[1]

Sociopolitical Forces Affecting Urban Elementary Schools

The social and political forces affecting urban education vary in their visibility. It is easy to see a slum, for example, but difficult to sense the attitudinal consequences of living in one. Though a cluster of low reading scores may be easily understood, the total emotional, economic, and social consequences for the nonreader cannot.

POVERTY, RACE, AND THE URBAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Poverty and racial isolation are the most intractable forces confronting urban elementary schools. Society looks to the elementary school more than to most institutions to reduce the heritability of poverty, but, in spite of increasing attention, poverty as a fact of life for many inner city inhabitants has not subsided in the past decade.

Though not all inner city residents are poor, in contrast to urban fringe areas the central cities have more than twice as high a proportion of residents in the lowest economic fifth of the nation. The lack of adequate employment opportunities exacerbates the problem. For instance, most new employment opportunities are created in suburban portions of metropolitan areas which are nowhere near central city neighborhoods.[2]

Not only are individual family incomes often extremely inadequate in central city areas, but so are the financial resources of city governments which provide services such as public welfare, low-income housing, health care, and police protection. While the costs of municipal government services have increased appreciably in the past decade, the municipal tax base has shrunk. Consequently, city residents may find themselves paying proportionately higher taxes for fewer and often inferior services. The problem of municipal overburden is vividly apparent in inner city education. Toffler notes that, on the average, municipalities spend fifty dollars more for every citizen than do corresponding suburban areas. Despite this higher overall expenditure for governmental services, within these same cities school districts spend about fifty dollars less per citizen on education.[3]

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[1] Areas untouched by this chapter are the intransigence to change of centralized bureaucracies and the growing demands of teacher unions for an increased share of power. These are certainly forces to be reckoned with as they act as countervailing stresses to the forces enumerated here which press for change.

[2] John F. Kain, "The Distribution and Movement of Jobs and Industry," in *The Metropolitan Enigma*, ed. James Q. Wilson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 1-40.

Racial isolation is a frequent concomitant of poverty in the inner city. In the years since World War II, cities have magnetically drawn the rural as well as urban poor, particularly those of black, Puerto Rican, Indian, and Mexican descent. Since 1960, while overall population growth in central cities has ceased entirely, there has been unabated growth of the nonwhite population. Additionally, the movement of the relatively more affluent population from the central city to the suburbs has resulted in economic stratification and racial isolation. This white out-migration to the suburbs and minority in-migration to central city areas has caused one observer to remark, "We have all become ghettoized."[4]

These facts of life create staggering problems for the urban elementary school staff. The incidence of poverty for children in the inner city per population unit is approximately twice that of the suburbs. Furthermore, the proportion of poor children of nonwhite background living in metropolitan areas is nearly four times that of poor white children.[5] The conclusion seems inescapable that demands upon elementary schools in urban settings will increase both in intensity and frequency if remedies are not forthcoming which relate classroom activities and teaching methods to life-styles of urban children, most of whom will be from minority groups for years to come.

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[3] A. Toffler, *Schoolhouse in the City* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1968), p. 14.

[4] Eric Trist, "Urban North America, the Challenge of the Next Thirty Years" (Address to Annual Meeting and Conference of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, June 1968), p. 15.

[5] Anthony Downs, *Who Are the Urban Poor?* Supplementary Paper Number 26 (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1970), p. 25.

THE INNER CITY CHILD AND THE CLASSROOM SOCIETY

Poverty and ethnic segregation shape the life of the urban child even before he enters the classroom. The classroom culture is to him an alien environment representing a dominant culture which censors his conduct, social habits, and cultural values. The inner city child of nonwhite ethnic extraction is shaped by a subculture rich in its own history, folkways, literature, and outstanding leaders of the present and past. However, since cultural transmission within any group takes place over a considerable interval of time, it is too early for the child entering elementary school to have fully established his own cultural identity. Once in school, he encounters neither teachers nor curricula that support him in the search for such an identity.

Many components of inner city children's experiences before school transcend ethnic identification and language differences in shaping behavior. Poverty teaches the preschool inner city child to look for immediate and visible rewards. As McCloskey noted a few years ago, survival precludes contemplation of intangible or remote goals.[6] The crowded, often threatening streets and alleyways place a value on toughness and masculinity. In the slum milieu the young child learns to respect and value strength, endurance, fearlessness, and success in physical competition and combat. Physical aggressiveness is both laudable and essential.[7] Such characteristics are not consonant with the values and norms of the conventional classroom society.

The impact of poor housing and limited medical attention is perhaps the most demoralizing effect of poverty. Each problem elicits behavior for which most elementary teachers are ill-prepared. For example, the lack of opportunity for privacy in overcrowded housing may result in restlessness or aimlessness in children who grow up in such surroundings. To escape the unpleasantness of their dwellings, slum children tend to find out-of-home associations at an early age.[8] Peer group influences, in turn, stimulate a precocious independence—a value or behavioral habit not consonant with the conformity desired by most classroom teachers. Additionally, the incidence of infectious childhood diseases among inner city children is inordinately high [9] and often untreated. The long-lasting effect of these diseases is to impair hearing, sight, and concentration and, consequently, to reinforce teacher beliefs that the urban child comes to the kindergarten class without motivation or enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits.

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[6] Elinor F. McCloskey, *Urban Disadvantaged Pupils, A Synthesis of 99 Research Reports* (Portland, Oreg.: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1967), p. 34.

[7] Ibid., p. 33.

[8] Ibid., p. 23.

COMMUNITY AWARENESS AND QUALITY EDUCATION

The frustration of community residents with the quality of education their children receive has been a dynamic and politically potent force for reform in urban elementary schools since the mid-1960s. Because the elementary school is readily available to scrutiny in urban neighborhoods, it often has been the focus of discontent. The basis for this discontent resides in urban youngsters' notoriously poor achievement in reading and mathematics. Tensions increased when parents from low-income groups, investigating reasons for their child's failure in high school, often were told that basic skills were not acquired in elementary school. Recent tendencies toward widespread publication of standardized test results have added to the growing community awareness of low skill levels in urban primary schools. Consequently, demands for better quality education have escalated in the inner city.

The fact that the quality of education in slum areas is inferior is by no means a new discovery. However, in the past such a state of affairs was easier for the poor to tolerate since a fairly substantial demand for manual labor enabled a proportion of their children to work their way to economic betterment. Today, the technological revolution has virtually removed this alternative by eliminating the need for unskilled or semiskilled workers. As a result, poor people have begun to recognize that the attainment of a good educational foundation is a prerequisite to upward mobility.

Demonstrations by inner city parents have dramatized their resentment toward inequities among schools in metropolitan centers. Picket lines of concerned parents and community members, school liberation squads, parent boycotts, and disruptions of school board meetings have constituted the more sensational varieties of demonstrations. It is not surprising that poor parents resort to such confrontational pressure tactics when they see their children neglected and can find no other recourse. Janowitz has noted that the slum school in its local contacts has been a relatively closed institution.[10] Even in suburban schools, parent-teacher organizations have been relatively weak and ineffective. In slum schools, those ephemeral parent-teacher organizations which exist typically represent select groups of individuals and function primarily to limit conflict and contact with the parents representing the larger community.

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[9] Ibid., p. 20.

National civil rights efforts have played a major role in heightening the awareness of inner city dwellers to the inadequacies of the schools serving them. Two themes characterize the pressure exerted on the schools by organized civil rights groups. Historically, groups like the NAACP maintained a steady focus on the goal of integrated schooling. These efforts were thought to have succeeded with the Supreme Court's landmark decison of 1954 declaring segregated schools unconstitutional. A decade later the lack of widespread progress toward this goal led segments of the black community to seek a new route toward the improvement of urban education. As a result, local control of the schools began to be the unifying theme to the smaller, often more vocal, civil rights groups. Other minority groups have echoed this cry for local control by their respective communities.

Clearly, this demand for local control of inner city elementary schools raises crucial questions concerning the efficacy of contemporary elementary school education and illuminates conflicts in educational philosophies, ideologies, and administrative styles. Professional educators at all levels of the educational system, but particularly those representing the neighborhood elementary school in the inner city, have been moved to respond to the community's concern for quality education—at worst by mere acknowledgment of the situation and at best by taking positive actions.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE URBAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Federal and state governmental educational policies designed to improve the plight of urban education have become powerful forces for change in the city elementary school. Federal and state courts have exerted substantial pressure toward ameliorating the educational problems of the inner city child. On another front, the national media, popular journals, and reform-oriented books have quickened national interest in improved childhood schooling, with particular attention to urban problems.

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[10] M. Janowitz, *Institution Building in Urban Education* (Hartford: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 101.

At the federal level, forces for change are apparent in the increased federal participation in education marked by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Expenditures for education rose sharply from 3 percent in 1958 to approximately 10 percent of the national budget in 1968.[11] Although military expenditures and the general malaise of the economy in the early seventies resulted in a leveling off of federal resources, there is no clear indication that future federal involvement will decline substantially. In fact, the trend toward increased federal aid to local school systems undoubtedly will continue as national priorities shift to domestic issues and economic conditions improve.

Federal involvement affecting the local elementary school has been both direct and indirect. The direct impact resulted from specific legislation to aid disadvantaged children in elementary schools. The National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, several titles of ESEA of 1965, and other similar legislation have adopted "relative need" criteria for allocating funds for direct impact on disadvantaged children. Title I of ESEA remains the most versatile example of federal attempts to bolster the education of children from low-income families. Title I has been the subject of much controversy as to whether its enormous expenditures have served the educational needs of inner cities. In a study of innovation in six large school districts, Gittell has commented as follows on the effects of ESEA legislation:

> It is clear that the emerging role of the Federal government through the Office of Education is as an external force promoting the greatest changes in the large city school districts that have been witnessed in the course of history. Although the comprehensive federal aid programs in education are relatively new, their impact can be witnessed in each of the cities. Compensatory education was virtually nonexistent prior to

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[11] James L. Sundquist, "For the Young, Schools," in *The Politics of Education at the Local, State and Federal Levels,* ed. M. Kirst (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1970), p. 350.

federal aid. The proliferation of experimental programs can be traced directly to the influence of federal aid policies.[12]

Head Start illustrates a federally funded program which indirectly has exposed some of the inadequacies of elementary school practices in the inner city. Head Start programs arose in response to the need for earlier intervention in the learning environment of inner city children. But these programs have resulted secondarily in increased pressure on urban elementary schools because of the latter's inability to sustain the learning gains made by children in the preschool programs. (It should be noted that the federal program, "Project Follow Through", was introduced for the purpose of aiding Head Start children through the primary grades.) Increased pressure for improved elementary education has also occurred at the high school level as a result of federally funded programs for inner city youth of high school age. As a result of both high school and preschool enrichment programs, federal officials and local educators have realized that change at the elementary level is crucial to the success of either program.

A second major national force exerting pressure on the urban elementary school derives from state and federal court decisions. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision of 1954 in the case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*[13] marked the beginning of this trend. This decision and pursuant court orders required the ending of segregated schools with all reasonable speed. The impact of this decision has been felt more in the southern schools where de jure segregation existed. In both North and South, however, the de facto segregation which continues to exist increasingly is coming under court scrutiny. The bussing cases are the most notable attempts by the courts to deal with de facto segregation. Cities in which suits have been decided in favor of ending this de facto situation have experienced extreme pressure not only from the court but from many parents, both white and nonwhite, who oppose bussing.

Integration is not the only realm in which the courts have begun to exert considerable influence on schools. Several cases recently have followed the lead of the *Serrano* v. *Priest*[14] decision declaring the local property tax an invalid basis for the allotment of state aid. Other cases have sought redress in court regarding unequal allocation of funds within a district. A case in point is *Hobson* v. *Hansen*,[15] in which the Washington, D.C., schools were ordered to show cause why more than 5 percent variations in per pupil expenditures existed. With greater frequency, courts are asked to decide cases involving the provision of bilingual instruction and the discriminatory classification of minority children as mentally retarded.

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[12] Marilyn Gittell, T. Edward Hollander, and William S. Vincent, "Fiscal Status and School Policy in Six Large School Districts," in *The Politics of Education at the Local, State and Federal Levels*, ed. M. Kirst (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1970), p. 67.

[13] *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Any discussion of national forces which have had an impact on elementary schools must take note of the growth and power of the mass media. In recent years these media have drawn attention to deplorable educational conditions and played a significant role in arousing citizen discontent with urban elementary schools. Previous to the media revolution in television and paperback books, citizens expected much less of the elementary schools than they do today. Until the 1960s, low-income parents demanded only a safe haven for their children during daytime work hours. Employers demanded only an abundant, steady source of cheap manual laborers. Today, however, the mass media have provided a constant focus on both the shortcomings and the possibilities of the elementary school.

The Children's Television Workshop offers a second example of the impact of media on parental awareness. "Sesame Street" has brought the teaching-learning process into the home via educational television channels. In many cases, these programs have appeared to produce significant gains in school-type learning. As a consequence, the programs of the urban elementary school have met even sharper criticism.

Responses to the Forces Pressing for Change in the Urban Elementary School

The dynamic interplay of the contemporary sociopolitical forces discussed above afforded educational reformers an opportunity to open the door to change in the urban elementary school. Goodlad has noted that during the decade of the sixties "innovation was the name of the education game."[16] Unfortunately, while many reforms were proposed for elementary education, responses to the forces for change in the urban elementary school either lingered at the suggestion stage, remained untried, or received short-run and perfunctory experimental trials. Educators and parents alike have been disappointed with the slow and often modest to negligible changes in elementary schools—particularly urban ones—during the past decade. Again, in Goodlad's idiom, "the task of the seventies is to get reforms out of the clouds and into tens of thousands of classrooms."[17]

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[14] *Serrano* v. *Priest*, Sup. 96 Cal. Rptr. 601 (1971).

[15] *Hobson* v. *Hansen*, Civil Action No. 82-66 (D.C.D.C.) Sept. 1, 1970.

Clearly, a basis for reforming urban elementary education may be found in recent responses to sociopolitical forces impinging upon the schools. Three major categories of responses emerge. One group attempts to rehabilitate the child and/or the curriculum in urban schools. Another aims at equalizing educational opportunities so that economic strata and ethnic affiliation cease to be determinants of the quality of educational services. A third group of responses focuses upon altering the power and authority structure enveloping urban education by redistributing decision-making authority. These three categories are neither totally unrelated nor inclusive of all efforts to change the urban school. Some attempts at improvement fall into two or even three of the categories. For purposes of discussion, however, we limit ourselves to the three classes of responses listed above.

ATTEMPTS TO REHABILITATE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THE URBAN CHILD

Responses to demands for basic educational reform in urban elementary schools have occurred at a startling rate in recent years. Professional educators, publishing companies, private consulting firms, research groups, governmental agencies, and private foundations are among those offering alternatives to contemporary curriculum materials and instructional and administrative theories and practices. In the limited number of places where such attempts have succeeded, they have resulted in improving the school climate, often creating more favorable attitudes among teachers and students, producing better school attendance records, reducing vandalism, and the like. However, their effect on student gains in achievement usually has been marginal. As a result, the proliferating alternative approaches to compensatory education designed to meet the special needs of inner city elementary school children have not yet satisfied their main criterion—providing the skills requisite for success in a rapidly changing and complex society.

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[16] John I. Goodlad, "Lag on Making Ideas Work," in *Change and Innovation in Elementary and Secondary Organization*, 2d ed., ed. Maurie Hillson and Ronald T. Hyman (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), p. 424.

[17] Ibid.

One of the most widely discussed responses to the learning deficit of urban children with which several school districts have experimented is *performance contracting*. Performance contracting is a form of compensatory education. Basically, it involves a written agreement between two parties (such as a school district and a private firm) in which the private firm contracts to produce certain changes in student performance, usually in reading and mathematics. The contract holds the contractors responsible for the attainment of specified objectives. Payment to the contractor is usually directly related to the amount of tangible improvement exhibited by the students in the program. This improvement requires some kind of measurement, and the most frequently used measurement device is the standardized achievement test.

Although several districts experimenting with performance contracting have encountered strong teacher resistance, school boards see several potential advantages in this innovation. First, most programs aim at areas in which urban elementary schools need to develop greater skill. Secondly, hiring an agency to do the job appears attractively simple. Third, new techniques can be brought into the school via the contractor's personnel and do not necessarily require the convincing of experienced teachers of the value of these methods and materials. It is hoped that the teachers will observe these new techniques in action and adopt them by the time the contractor moves on.

However, to date the results of performance contracting have been less dramatic than the publicity surrounding it. A study by the Rand Corporation,[18] for example, reported that gains made by performance contractors were neither as dramatic nor as lasting as some educators had expected. Also, performance contracting is likely to cost more than conventional instruction and tends to be narrowly focused on precise subject matter objectives. Disillusionment already has set in.

Alternative responses may be found in efforts to improve materials and procedures of urban elementary instruction. Multiracial reading materials and stories which relate to the lives of inner city children have been developed by publishing houses and purchased for use in inner city classrooms. Furthermore, educational methodology has undergone refinement. Use of criterion-referenced measurement which stresses level of behavior as opposed to class standing has been encouraged. Behavioral objectives which emphasize concrete statements of desired behavioral outcomes of instruction offer promise both in clarifying goals of instruction and in achieving those goals.

School-scheduling changes also have been tried in some urban elementary schools, as have nongraded and open classrooms. Some teachers have explored procedures which stress reward systems. A few schools have added "Sesame Street" television programs to their classrooms along with videotape equipment, tape recorders, and movie projectors. On the whole, however, widespread and meaningful adoption of organizational alternatives and/or technological devices has not led to their integration into the elementary school program. Long-established and outmoded practices tend to prevail. As yet, pedagogical reforms have provided only erratic responses to the problems of inner city children.

Beyond the need to update technological and pedagogical competencies of urban school staff members, a separate need exists to sensitize many of them to the cultural values and life-styles of inner city children. Several urban school districts have instituted staff development and in-service training programs to meet these needs. Frequently, their programs have been developed in cooperation with universities which have revamped their own training programs for inner city teachers and administrators. Growing cooperation between academia and the other levels of education seems predictable for the future, and this will bring to both educational levels additional pressures for change (see chapter 14).

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[18] Polly Carpenter and George R. Hall, *Case Studies in Educational Performance Contracting, Conclusions and Implications*, Study prepared for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 1971).

Another approach which urban schools have used to overcome cultural differences between staff members and the urban child is use of paraprofessionals from the community. These teacher aides perform a number of tasks, from patrolling lunchrooms and running mimeograph machines to tutoring children in their lessons. One promising program used female high school graduates from ghetto settings.[19]

There is little reason to doubt the impact that these attempts toward rehabilitating educational programs can have on improving the skills of urban children. There is, nevertheless, reason to doubt that these improvements will enter urban classrooms quickly. In the past, most of the improvements and innovations have been marginal, made under the experimental label, and financed by federal funds. Yet the mere existence of improved techniques and educational hardware should offer in the long run some hope for the urban classroom.

REALIZING FULL CIVIL RIGHTS AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

In response to pressures, urban elementary schools have made some efforts to eliminate racial disparities in the classroom through the adoption of desegregation programs. The underlying assumption which supports this critical response to pressures for equal rights and opportunities is that segregated elementary schools begin the long march toward impairment of motivation and achievement. Segregation appears to be a factor in ultimate academic failure, dropping out of school, occupational failure, and second-rate citizenship. Integration of the races in urban elementary schools transcends compensatory education, curricular reforms, and the like, as vehicles for "rehabilitating" the urban child. While compensatory education has focused directly on the so-called deprivation of inner city children, desegregation has centered upon the "physical integration" of children from nonwhite with those from white communities.

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[19] D. G. Ellison, P. Harris, and Larry Barber, "A Field Test of Programmed and Directed Tutoring," *Reading Research Quarterly* 3 (1968): 307-67.

Desegregation or the numerical balancing of ethnic and racial groups in schools has been an easier goal to achieve than true integration. But even desegregation has met with limited success. In large cities the goal of mere physical integration is exceedingly difficult to accomplish. It is severely hampered not only by the declining white population in the cities but also by the proliferating independent school districts in the more wealthy urban areas. Little cooperation ensues from suburban districts, frequently populated by threatened and hostile white suburbanites who have emigrated from the cities. Thus, desegregation and integration have been more suggested than implemented responses at both elementary and secondary levels. The fact of the matter remains that nine out of every ten black elementary children attend schools in which the majority of pupils are black.[20]

As indicated earlier, many cities (while admitting the desirability of integration) have developed compensatory education programs at the elementary level in an effort to equalize learning opportunities at an early age and stave off community pressures. While compensatory programs for elementary school youngsters may be the most practical response cities are capable of making, the success of such programs is at best ambiguous. Some convincing research suggests that integration is a far more potent means of improving educational opportunities for inner city children.[21] But the methods tried so far by cities to achieve integration offer little hope for future success. Open enrollment, school pairing, central schools, and bussing have all been tried or suggested; yet none seems practical in the face of citizen opposition.

Open enrollment strategies were designed to permit students to attend a school of their choice outside their own attendance area. The plan foundered due to the small numbers of students, both white and black, who chose to transfer. Blacks quite reasonably saw the program as a short-term, token form of integration while whites manifested no desire to attend inner city schools. Small cities have experimented with elementary school pairing which involves the merger of attendance areas of two or more elementary schools serving the same grades and in close proximity to each other. The central school plan involves making an entire school district a single attendance area for all students in particular grades. Both these plans suffer from limited applicability to large urban areas with rapidly declining white populations.

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[20] Robert W. Heller, "Desegregation, Integration, and Urban Schools," in *Toward Improved Urban Education*, ed. Frank W. Lutz (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970), p. 38.

[21] Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Social Evaluation Theory: Convergences and Applications," in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, vol. 15, ed. David Levine (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 241-311.

Bussing offers some urban areas a more feasible method of physical integration, but the wrath of white and some minority parents has made the plan less workable. Additionally, cooperation from suburban areas is essential for the plan to succeed. Bussing programs currently exist in such cities as Rochester, Boston, Hartford, San Francisco, and Pasadena. Research suggests that several bussing programs have resulted in positive integration experiences for the students involved.[22] Yet public sentiment is far from embracing bussing as an alternative; the issue is evaded usually by offering the excuse that the expense is too great or that elementary school children are too young to bus.

Inner city residents, as well as suburbanites, increasingly are opposed to integration as a solution to improving the quality of inner city schools. This trend may derive from a disenchantment with the possibility of integration, or it may bespeak a strong separatist desire. Detroit's experience in 1971 is an example. School board members, counting on the support of black parents, tied their futures to an integration plan. The subsequent nonsupport from the black community was a major factor in the departure of Detroit's superintendent and the recall of board members.

One final avenue which departs from the desegregation goal has been suggested to city school systems as a means of achieving social equality. This response attacks the problem of financial imbalance. A few schemes to achieve financial equality between city and suburb have been offered, but for the most part they remain untried. These schemes include more equitable state aid formulas based on a pupil's educational needs or on the local tax effort, redrawing district boundary lines (which is about as easy to achieve as reapportionment), establishment of a statewide property tax or a statewide teacher salary schedule, and state equalization of each district's expenditures. These schemes run aground on the difficult politics of state legislatures, which in the past have rarely acted in behalf of the cities, as a result of their rural-suburban bias. Other research suggests that financial equality does not mean educational quality and that far more must be done than providing more money to urban schools.[23] The heavy pressure currently coming from the courts, however, will no doubt lead to implementation of some of these schemes.

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[22] Meyer Weinberg, *Desegregation Research: An Appraisal* (Chicago: Integrated Education Associates, 1968).

REDISTRIBUTING DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY

Some responses to the sociopolitical forces acting upon the elementary school focus on a common strategy of reordering the power and authority structure in urban education. Most of these responses have come in the last half of the past decade and probably reflect a disenchantment with earlier attempts to improve urban education. Janowitz describes the decision-making thrust as the second phase of educational reform history.[24] The first phase, from 1960 to 1967, was characterized by piecemeal change either from the bottom up or by lateral diffusion. Compensatory education and desegregation fall into this first phase of educational reform. The second phase emphasizes a top-down change strategy which aims at nothing short of total reorganization of power relationships in school districts.

Decentralization has been the most common response employed by school districts to redistribute decision-making authority. Decentralization can mean many things to many people, but generally it refers to the transfer of legitimate decision-making authority in the areas of personnel (recruitment and selection), curriculum, and budget from central boards of education and central office staffs to local areas within the city.[25] Havighurst has noted that decentralization does not necessarily mean local control.[26] Rather, local control represents the most extreme form of decentralization, in which virtually all important decision-making powers reside in representatives of the communities served by the local school. Most decentralization schemes, however, fall many degrees shy of local control. Some schemes provide only for administrative decentralization with virtually no community participation. However, the vast majority of schemes aim at varying degrees of community participation.

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[23] See Janowitz, op. cit.; James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966); H. Kiesling, "Measuring a Local Government Service: A Study of School Districts in New York State," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 49 (1967): 356-67.

[24] Janowitz, op. cit.

La Noue has noted that "depending on the definitions used, about a third of our largest cities have decentralized their school systems."[27] The school systems of Los Angeles, New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, Seattle, and St. Louis are among those experimenting with some form of decentralization. These cities seem to follow a pattern of adapting the concept to their own particular needs and political realities. Moreover, it is difficult to determine exactly what motivates urban school systems to decentralize. Apparently, the only consistently strong predictor is the size of the city. Other factors, such as the percent of nonwhite population in the urban district, the degree of residential or school segregation, and the method by which the school board is chosen, do not strongly predict decentralization. One can only conclude that decentralization is a response to a concentration of forces, none of which occur in the same degree or combination in every city school district.

The forms which decentralization takes vary greatly. Philadelphia for several years has attempted to defer the question of decentralization or keep it to a minimum in the hope of using central office powers in a responsive way. A recent plan under consideration in Philadelphia suggests a form of decentralization involving advisory committees at local schools and at the central office but not community regional boards. Washington and Chicago have attempted a form of decentralization which stresses experimental projects in a few neighborhoods, while St. Louis has experimented with a type of evolutionary decentralization which gradually transfers powers to local units of the school district.

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[25] Definition used by G. La Noue, "The Politics of School Decentralization" (Paper delivered at American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, California, September 11, 1970).

[26] Robert Havighurst, "Decentralization versus Local Community Control in Large City School Systems," in *Society and Education: A Book of Readings*, ed. R. J. Havighurst, B. L. Neugarten, and J. M. Falk (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971), pp. 296-302.

[27] La Noue, op. cit., p. 1.

The number of cities implementing some form of decentralization plan suggests that decentralization may afford school systems the most practicable response to the pressures from federal authorities and urban communities. Additionally, decentralization schemes generally afford more opportunity for community spokesmen and parents to participate. How meaningful this participation is will depend on the openness of the school district staff and the energy of the parents and spokesmen. On the other hand, decentralization can easily become only a guise for improving education. Because it is so popular, decentralization can be simply an effort of school districts to buy precious time by appearing to respond to the pressures of urban areas while not changing anything that goes on in urban elementary classrooms.

Voucher schemes could become a means of redistributing decision-making authority in urban school districts. Jencks contends that voucher schemes represent a form of consumer power transferred to education.[28] The basic design consists of handing out chits which are worth the per pupil expenditure the district would ordinarily have made for that child. Each family with elementary school children would receive one voucher for each child in that family. The individual elementary schools are then able to cash in the vouchers they collect. Vouchers for inner city children are worth more in order to make these children more desirable to the voucher schools. Theoretically, schools belonging to the voucher agency must adhere to strict regulations regarding racial composition and make available accurate information about the school.

Other voucher plans have been suggested. Coons has suggested a "family power equalizing plan" which places the value of vouchers on an individual family basis within a progressive tax structure.[29] Friedman's original voucher scheme concentrated on a free-market economy principle with none of the controls included in the Jencks proposal.[30] Most analysts, however, view the free-market voucher as being exceedingly harmful to the improvement of urban schooling. It should be noted that no schools are experimenting with voucher plans without the assistance of U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity funds.

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[28] *Educational Vouchers: A Preliminary Report for Financing Education by Payments to Parents* (Cambridge: Center for the Study of Public Policy, 1970).

The major drawbacks to a city's implementation of a voucher arrangement are the uncertain and untoward consequences which might result, the expense of implementation, the legal difficulties which would require state constitutional amendments in most cases, and the difficulty of developing public and staff support of so major a reorganization of the schooling process. Yet some observers of the problems of inner city elementary schools suggest that the voucher concept offers cities a response to several problems at once —integration, innovation, public exposure of school practices and results, and greater parent control over the child's learning environment.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CHANGE IN THE SCHOOLS TODAY

Unfortunately, the magnitude of proposed reforms corresponds little with the extent to which urban elementary schools have changed. The wide gamut of possible responses available to urban school systems seems to have slight relationship to fundamental institutional change. At the same time, urban elementary schools face a turbulent urban environment which shows all signs of increasing in turbulence in the future.

One reason for this discouraging observation is that many sociopolitical forces are only slightly under the control of the elementary school. For instance, even if the urban elementary schools could miraculously increase the skills of inner city students overnight, the effects would not be felt by minority peoples for ten to fifteen years. As a result, the effects of low income and unemployment in the ghettos and barrios would continue to operate as forces on the elementary classrooms.

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[29] John E. Coons, William H. Clune, and Stephen Sugarman, *Private Wealth and Public Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[30] Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Another reason for increased future turbulence in urban areas is that school district responses, where they are being made, are neither sufficient in kind nor coordinated enough to offset the forces existent in urban areas. The lack of sufficient response is illustrated by enrichment programs which are "experimentally" adopted in one urban classroom, or integration efforts which bus a handful of inner city children to suburban classrooms. The lack of coordination is seen in programs of decentralization which do not aim to change curriculum or the attitudes of teachers toward nonwhite urban children.

One final explanation for the intensification of the forces acting on the urban elementary school emerges from the observation that some important responses are not being made at all. Although responses seem imminent in the area of more equitable financing, to date they have not been implemented. And yet, this kind of reform seems crucial to any improvement in urban elementary education. Clear delegation to local control has yet to be a reality in any urban area despite the attempts of some districts to present a façade of local control regarding some important decisions.

It is unlikely that any of the forces outlined in this chapter will diminish in the near future. Lack of coordination, lack of enough effort in most areas, and entire lack of effort in other areas suggest an increase in the sociopolitical forces pressing for change in inner city elementary schools. There are some rays of hope, however. Urban elementary schools do not suffer from a lack of ideas. Rather, the greater problems lie with implementation, intensification, organization, and coordination of ideas currently in circulation.

Implications of Strategic Planning for Urban Elementary Schools

One way out of the quandary of inadequate responses to growing turbulence in urban environments lies in the utilization of strategic planning techniques. A major problem in urban revitalization stems from the decision-making pattern which Americans have typically exhibited toward remedying social ills. Anthony Downs has observed that "disjointed incrementalism" is the best description of this behavior.[31] This process consists typically of an informal, serial attack on social problems. Only a limited number of alternatives and consequences are considered during the contemplation of policy. Objectives and policy are continuously redefined and adjusted to each other throughout the implementation. Although in the past, Americans have experienced relative success with this decision-making style, this behavior by itself may not be an appropriate style for the future. The complexity of social issues has increased to such an extent that uncoordinated responses will in all probability always fall short of success. Furthermore, disjointed incrementalism is generally only successful when a society is able "to generate in most of its citizens a single set of basic values and even broad policy objectives that exert a cohesive influence on their supposedly individualistic decisions." [32] Lastly, disjointed incrementalism becomes insufficient as a decision-making strategy when institutional change of a fundamental nature is necessary. Such a situation occurs when ongoing trends that threaten a society (e.g., racism) are strongly entrenched in that society's institutional structure.

Although disjointed incrementalism will prevail as the more typical decision-making behavior of society, a more strategic, coordinated method of thinking could be integrated with this decision-making behavior. For instance, the alternative outcomes considered by decision-makers could usefully include some outcomes (by no means all) which could not be achieved without major changes in existing institutions or values. Thus, while the number of alternative future strategies considered can remain manageable, not all would be aimed at preserving the status quo.

An illustration of such an approach may be helpful.[33] Maintaining present policies in the ghetto places educators and society on a course of probable disaster. By examining a few alternative policies which would not be easily implemented, a policy strategy of providing enrichment in the ghetto could be developed while concurrently promoting dispersal or integration efforts out of the ghetto. The case for strategic planning here rests on the basic premise that only this strategy realistically encompasses present needs and at the same time aims at the creation of a single society rather than perpetuating two separate societies.

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[31] Anthony Downs, "Alternative Futures for the American Ghetto," *Daedalus* 97 (1968): 1331-78.

[32] Ibid., p. 1342.

[33] This example is found in Downs, "Alternative Futures," op. cit.

Applied to urban elementary education, the above plan, if adopted, would require intensification and continuation of curriculum enrichment efforts along with efforts aiming to redistribute decision-making authority. Additionally, efforts at promoting integration through bussing or other methods would have to continue and intensify. School districts by themselves could not attain these strategic objectives but, by collaborating, innovating, and thinking strategically, they could play a substantial role in achieving them.

Whether one agrees with the ultimate policy choice or not, the important aspect of the approach is the decision-making style by which one arrives at a policy choice. Methods are available to implement more difficult educational and societal changes, but these require us in our thinking to conceive beyond what is possible tomorrow.

It would be remiss in such an approach to omit consideration of the important role of the significant actors who mold societal values. The problems of the urban elementary school are enmeshed in the problems of all levels of education, both suburban and urban. To reiterate, much of the success of even modified disjointed incrementalism rests upon a single set of basic values held by the citizenry of a society. Societal views regarding integrated, equal opportunity education lack this cohesive quality. Indeed, as Coleman has pointed out, many citizens hold a strong value commitment to differential educational opportunity.[34]

To proceed toward doing what is "right" and "just" in elementary education, as well as in all education, requires a cohesive set of values. Such values, which permit a greater sharing, greater trust, and greater cooperation intraracially as well as interracially, intraorganizationally as well as interorganizationally, have not always been present in American society in the past. The progress of American society toward these values is not encouraging. No doubt, they will eventually emerge, but a wait of several generations may be too long. Sufficient response to the sociopolitical forces impinging on urban elementary education and other areas of national existence must be made as quickly as possible. Vickers has described the crux of the dilemma as follows:

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[34] James S. Coleman, "The Struggle for Control of Education," in *Society and Education: A Book of Readings*, ed. R. J. Havighurst, B. L. Neugarten, and J. M. Falk (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971), pp. 62-72.

> We are not yet developing this political ability fast enough to keep pace with the course of events. This is not surprising, because political change is limited by the speed at which people can change their ideas of the world they live in, their expectations of it, and their willingness to accept its expectations of them.[35]

The predominant activity of those participating in urban elementary education in the future will be to find creative ways to implement, to coordinate, and to plan strategically in order to connect responses to sociopolitical forces. This activity will have to involve a more conscious and perhaps more courageous leadership in shaping societal values and finding support mechanisms for this process.

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[35] From Geoffrey Vickers, *Value Systems and Social Process* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1968), as quoted in Trist, op. cit., p. 28.

CHAPTER XIV

Effecting Change in Elementary Schools

MARY M. BENTZEN
and
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Introduction

A DECADE OF INNOVATION

As has been stated in several preceding chapters, countless innovations were introduced—although not invariably accepted—in the elementary schools of the United States between 1957 and 1967. Among these were such interesting, provocative, and potentially productive innovations as nongrading, team teaching, inquiry training, and updated and discipline-centered curricula—particularly in science, mathematics, and social studies. There were also educational television, multimedia instructional techniques, programmed instruction, total-learning systems such as Individually Prescribed Instruction (IPI), and computer-assisted instruction. Though there were important and provocative innovations prior to 1957, from that date to 1967 the output of ideas definitely accelerated.

The interest in improved practices can be ascribed in part to the orbiting of Sputnik and cold war competition with the Soviet Union, but they were not the only causes. During the years following World War II, the so-called American dream seemed almost attainable. Judging by the rhetoric of leaders, there was to be a lasting peace, the basic needs of the nation's citizens were to be provided for, technology was to free people from drudgery, and ever expanding leisure time was to be filled with worthwhile activity. Universal education, we were told, was to prepare students to live productively as individuals and as citizens.

Public Laws 874 and 815 supported expanded programs and school construction on a virtually carte blanche basis in federally impacted areas. The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, while programmatically specific, provided financial support for the improvement of elementary schooling. By 1965, with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the people of the United States had made by far the greatest financial commitment to elementary education of any nation in the history of the world. This was done while the country simultaneously was striving to overcome the historical roadblocks to federal aid—the issues of federal control, separation of church and state, and civil rights.

Also in the 1960s, the nation's conscience was awakened to the fact that large segments of its population—its minorities and its poor—had little access to "regular" educational opportunities, let alone the innovations which were being discussed. The result was the passage of the Equal Opportunities Act (EOA) which established the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in 1964. Finally, the Educational Professional Development Act (EPDA) was passed in 1967. Out of this welter of legislation came educational programs such as EOA's Head Start and in-service training for teachers in urban elementary schools as provided by the EPDA. Education had become recognized as the "nation's business."

THE PRESENT SCENE

With a decade of innovation upon which to build, with so much enabling legislation, and with general support for change, the question immediately occurs: What is the status of the elementary schools today? To say the least, the scene is confusing. Goodlad characterizes it as follows:

> Put on one pair of glasses and the [elementary] schools appear to be moving posthaste toward becoming centers of intense, exciting learning, marked by concern for the individual. Put on another, and they appear to be mired in tradition, insensitive to pressing social problems, and inadequate to the demands of learning.[1]

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[1] John I. Goodlad, "The Schools vs. Education," *Saturday Review* (April 19, 1969): 59-61, 80-82. Selected from "Schooling and Education," *The Great Ideas Today* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1969), pp. 103-12, and revised for the *Saturday Review*.

Studies of the innovations of the sixties by Goodlad and Klein and by Silberman [2] arrive at the conclusion that the many changes widely recommended during the decade have failed to permeate the elementary classrooms of this country. A second conclusion is equally disheartening; elementary schools and classrooms are marked by a kind of gray uniformity regardless of their location, student population, or even reputed innovativeness. In reviewing the use of team teaching, educational television, nongrading, discipline-centered curricula, and computer-assisted instruction, Goodlad concludes, as does Silberman, that innovations of promise are blunted on the classroom doors of the elementary school.

Factors Which Inhibit Change

Obviously, there are elementary schools which employ some of the innovations of the past decade. But an inevitable question must be asked: In an atmosphere seemingly supportive of change, why are so many elementary schools still unchanged? Many factors which stand in the way of bringing about desirable changes necessary in elementary schooling can be identified. Some of them are examined briefly here.

INADEQUATE FINANCE

Economic abundance is a major factor in the encouragement of any social changes, including educational changes. At the time of the passage of the federal enabling legislation in the mid-sixties, the country's economy appeared to be quite healthy. Further, it was generally assumed that federal financial support of all educational programs would increase significantly as the years passed. For example, Title III of ESEA, which was intended specifically to encourage educational innovation, received \$75 million during fiscal year 1966. This was raised to \$145 million during fiscal year 1967. Those who administered the program at that time planned their emerging programs on the basis of budgets for the ensuing five years as follows:

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[2] John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein, and Associates, *Behind the Classroom Door* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971); Charles Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1971).

Fiscal Year	*Dollars*
1968	$ 250,000,000
1969	630,000,000
1970	1,500,000,000
1971	2,000,000,000
1972	2,200,000,000

Based upon such optimistic projections, numerous projects were approved and funds committed during fiscal 1966 and 1967 for periods of up to three years. Many of these early projects were far from innovative, and some were funded primarily on the basis of state dollar quotas. But they were a hopeful beginning. The notion was that new and better projects would be funded in subsequent years from increased funds as they were made available by the Congress. At the same time, presumably, the original projects would be completed.[3]

By fiscal 1972, however, funding for Title III-ESEA was actually no more than $146.25 million—just a little more than one million dollars above the 1967 funding level and a far cry from the $2.2 billion originally projected. The escalation of the war in Indochina, inflation at home, and the generally depressed economy were factors which caused federal spending for education to remain constant or to rise only slightly during these years.

The picture is even gloomier when state and local levels are considered. Without the anticipated massive infusion of federal moneys into education, state and local governments have had to rely upon traditional and already overburdened sources of income to finance public education—usually sales and property taxes. With inflation and intensified competition for funding for social services at all governmental levels, education has fared badly. In Los Angeles in 1971, for example, the city raised property taxes about 3 percent. The county government followed suit by approving a rate increase of 9 percent. Neither increase required the vote of the people. When the independent Los Angeles Unified School District proposed a tax increase, however, the voters turned it down overwhelmingly for the *eighth straight year*! Such rejection of support for education is much the same all across the nation, despite the fact that many school districts are on the verge of bankruptcy, particularly in urban areas. In some cases, schools have even been forced to close before the end of the normal year. It seems safe to conclude that school districts cannot be expected to invest in any innovation that may increase costs when they are, in fact, struggling to pay for present programs.

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[3] Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, *Catalyst for Change: A National Study of ESEA-Title III* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 93.

VALUE DILEMMAS

Even with massive funding and with general sanctions from the public as a whole, education will not be easy to change. Gardner has said, "We all know in our bones that over the long haul what we do in education has the greatest relevance to building the kind of society we want." [4] But herein lies a plethora of dilemmas. Do we continue with increased technology and cybernation or do we move to a more person-centered society? Do we continue to accept the values of the "market place" or do we move to more highly centralized forms of long-range planning? How can we attain unity within our society while also promoting pluralism? [5] As a nation, we do not seem to be coping with these or other serious value questions. We are at best "muddling through," and as one of several sorry consequences our institutions, not the least of which is the school, more often than not are trapped in a sticky gumbo that reduces progress to a virtual halt.

"Change anything you want, but don't rock the boat." This absurd contradictory quote from a school superintendent captures the present state of much of elementary education. We are more than willing to "tinker" with schooling. We add a course here or there. We change materials of instruction. We lower the age for schooling, but we do much the same with these younger children as we have done with their older brothers and sisters. All the while we avoid serious basic alterations in education lest they be too

[4] John Gardner, *No Easy Victories* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 67.

[5] Willis W. Harman, *The Nature of Our Changing Society: Implications for Schools* (Eugene, Oreg.: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Administration, 1969).

controversial or make someone unhappy. Until we can clarify our societal values, until we can design institutions which can be responsive to diverse values, little if any significant educational change is likely to occur.

VESTED INTERESTS

The endorsement of educational innovations "as long as they don't raise taxes" is an obvious expression of vested interests inhibiting significant reform. The fear felt by white parents, real or rationalized, that school integration will lower the quality of education for their children, is another example. But as Watson points out, vested interest may be more than a matter of economics, personal gain, or even prestige.[6] It may reside in something as simple as freedom to operate as one pleases. A recently completed case study of a large school district in southern California provides a good example.[7] The district was highly successful in decentralizing much of its decision-making to the school level, involving parents, teachers, the principal, and even students. Everything went well for at least two years until those at the "cabinet level," the various assistant superintendents, began to realize that their roles had begun to change significantly; they were now responsible for serving the needs of others rather than directly making decisions for others to carry out. At this juncture, such "leaders" became major stumbling blocks, impeding any change of consequence.

BUREAUCRACY AND ADHERENCE TO NORMS

To date the most widespread method for insuring the accomplishment of institutional purposes is the establishment of bureaucratic structures. Such structures have the virtue of maintaining order and control and implementing common means to accomplish common purposes. Elementary schools, for instance, have become highly bureaucratized units within highly bureaucratized districts.

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[6] Goodwin Watson, "Resistance to Change," in *Concepts for Social Change*, ed. Goodwin Watson (Washington, D.C.: National Training Laboratories, Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, National Education Association, 1967).

[7] Kenneth A. Tye, "The Process" (Paper for the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., Research Division, Los Angeles, 1970).

Standards of attainment are common for all or most pupils. Curricula and pedagogy are standardized. State or district syllabi and state or commercial textbooks dictate how and what is to be taught. Further, there is a proliferation of policies, rules, and regulations, most of which are restrictive and mitigate against change. In California, things have come to such a pass that the state legislature has been forced to pass legislation allowing schools to ignore previous legislation in order to innovate.

Beyond formal rules and regulations within bureaucratic organizations, there are more subtle and even more powerful informal forces which inhibit innovation. Norms grow up over the years. Watson lists as powerful norms which inhibit change in bureaucratic institutions such things as time schedules, modes of dress, certain forms of address to colleagues, superiors, and subordinates, protestations of institutional loyalty, and personal ambition to rise in the power structure.[8]

Because the majority of individuals within an organization share norms, those who advocate change or who deviate from these norms are likely either to be pressured to conform or to be ignored or excluded. Even schools which have been set apart with sanctions to operate differently for a time tend ultimately to be forced to conform to the norms of the greater system.[9] Nothing less than drastically altering the bureaucratic structures of educational institutions will suffice if we are to commit ourselves to significant educational improvement.

CONFUSION IN DECISION-MAKING

Education is a complex enterprise. It is vastly more than a teacher in a classroom with twenty-five to thirty-five students. It involves government at all levels. It involves literally millions of decisions made by the lay public, by administrators, and by the intermediate educational agents who influence what the teacher can and does do. Strident cries for accountability and for decentralization are not enough to clarify the confusion in educational decision-making.

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[8] Watson, op. cit.

[9] See, for example, the literature on what happened to experimental schools and colleges in Matthew B. Miles, ed., *Innovation in Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1964).

What is needed is the formulation of guidelines which specify areas of decision-making appropriate to the various agents and agencies involved in education.

Thus, it should be the responsibility of sanctioning bodies—the public and their legislatures—to clarify societal values, to pass laws, and to provide the necessary resources for their implementation. School boards should be responsible for a clear statement of enlightened educational aims derived from societal values and for guidelines for their implementation. The professional-technical staff of the school system should be responsible for stating institutional objectives derived from the statement of aims, for allocating human and financial resources, and for designing procedures for monitoring the accomplishment of objectives. For their part, teachers should be responsible for all instructional decisions, such as those involved in deriving instructional objectives from institutional objectives and in providing appropriate learning resources, and for basing those decisions upon an adequate knowledge of the content of instruction as well as an understanding of their students. In this way, both the responsibility and accountability of each agent are limited to clearly defined spheres.[10]

Until such criteria are set forth, it is probable that contradictory decisions will continue to be made at all levels of educational decision-making. It is also inevitable under these circumstances that change in the elementary school will be impeded.

THE LEADERSHIP VACUUM

Lipham has distinguished between the roles of school administrators and leaders.[11] He points out that a *leader* is primarily concerned with the creation of new structures or procedures for achieving the goals of the institution or with the establishment of new goals for that institution. The role of the *administrator*, on the other hand, often is to use existing structures and procedures to achieve existing goals. The fact is that most people in key roles in education have been educated as administrators and have gained their reinforcing experiences in this capacity.

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[10] Kenneth A. Tye, "Educational Accountability in an Era of Change," in *Emerging Patterns of Administrative Accountability*, ed. Lesley H. Browder, Jr. (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1971), pp. 456-75. See also John I. Goodlad, "The Teacher Selects, Plans, Organizes," in *Learning and the Teacher* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1959), pp. 55-58; John I. Goodlad and Maurice N. Richter, Jr., *The Development of a Conceptual System for Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction* (Cooperative Research Report, SACE 8024, Project No. 454, U.S. Office of Education, 1967).

[11] James M. Lipham, "Leadership and Administration," in *Behavioral Science and Educational Administration*, Sixty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

By and large, school administrators also are selected from the ranks of those who have been successful teachers, which, in itself, can be a problem. Michael states the case as follows:

> . . . Most of today's teachers and educational administrators were themselves educated, and are still being educated, on the basis of social perspectives that are insensitive to the cognitive and emotional requirements for a [changing society]. Most primary and secondary school teachers . . . come from backgrounds more at ease with a conservative view of life, suspicious of the strange, the innovative, the spontaneous and comfortable with the requirements, certainties, rewards, [and] the moral assurance of the Protestant ethic. Hence, there is no reason to suppose that, short of disaster, major, widespread changes are likely to be the lot of education in general over the next decade at least. . . .[12]

Administrators, after being successful teachers, are trained in such things as school law, school governance, supervision, educational business procedures, and school curriculum. Generally, this training is of a low prescriptive type with its lore derived from past and present practices that frequently lack vision and imagination. Only recently and rarely has any of this training been couched in systems thinking which deals with relationships among variables, with cause and effect, or with choices among alternative futures. Also, alas, few administrators have a strong background either in the liberal arts or in the behavioral sciences, and the study of change as a social and educational phenomenon is infrequently included in their training. The result is that school administrators use the past as a data source as they attempt to deal with the present and to plan for the future. Unless we can develop a cadre of educational leaders who know how to plan, who know how to work with and influence others, and who understand the relationships between school and culture, elementary schooling will at best move forward at a glacial rate.

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[12] Donald R. Michael, *The Unprepared Society: Planning for a Precarious Future* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 114.

THE LACK OF STRATEGIES

Janowitz, in writing about change in slum schools, has pointed out that prior to 1969 most change efforts were segmental in nature. Such efforts were largely directed toward the development of model demonstration projects rather than the planning of fundamental institution building.[13] In retrospect, then, one could suggest that with respect to educational change we have had the cart before the horse for nearly a decade. We have been concerned too much with the singular implementation of specific changes without devoting adequate thought and resources to strategies for creating a lasting, self-renewing capacity for change in our educational institutions.

The remainder of this chapter attempts to examine such strategies. A brief overview of existing strategies is provided, with important strategies which seem to be emerging treated in greater detail. Finally, a peer support strategy which directs itself toward the development of self-renewing schools is examined in depth.

Existing Strategies

All of the change strategies which have been widely accepted for working with schools proceed from the same fundamental definition of the task to be accomplished: some identified body of knowledge must be transmitted from an outside source to the schools in such a form that the schools will use it. Havelock has diagramed this task so as to suggest that it is basic to all diffusion of knowledge.[14]

The traditional strategies then take different positions as to the manner and form in which the knowledge is transmitted. In the following discussion, we use Havelock's definitions of three major

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[13] Morris Janowitz, "Alternative Models of Institutional Change in the Slum School," *Phi Delta Kappan* 52 (February, 1971): 334-37.

[14] Ronald G. Havelock, *Planning for Innovation through Dissemination and Utilization of Knowledge* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge [CRUSK], Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1971).

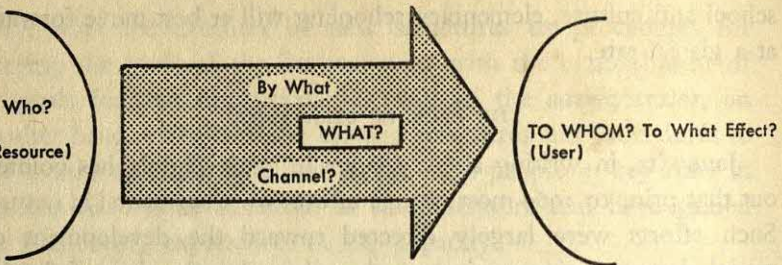

FIG. 1. Basic elements of the process of dissemination of knowledge

types of strategies: (a) research, development, and diffusion (RD & D), (b) social interaction, and (c) problem-solving.[15] To these we also add the "instructional materials improvement" strategy.

Both the RD & D and the instructional materials strategies view knowledge transmission as the development through research and field trials of a package that eventually can be disseminated to a wide range of user schools. The two strategies differ in that RD & D tends to package what basic research has designated as "good" and assumes a passive user, whereas the instructional materials approach is oriented to what the user will buy and is guided by marketing research techniques.

The social interaction strategy has grown from an impressive amount of research on tracking the progress of innovations. This research suggests that change agents should concentrate effort on the opinion leaders in the social networks through which any innovative knowledge is diffused, and it predicts several stages in the acceptance of change, each of which may require a different substrategy. The problem-solving strategy employs a close temporary relationship between a change agent and a school. During the relationship, knowledge about problem-solving processes (seen as the vehicle for innovation) is transmitted to the school staff through a series of learning experiences based upon problems which are accepted as relevant by that staff.

Various shortcomings are found when each of these strategies is used. The total rationality of the RD & D model, for example, frequently is disrupted by the real situations in which it must be used, and its lack of concern for individual-user needs often results in no more than lip service being paid to the changes it intends. The attention to user demands in the instructional materials strategy, on the other hand, courts the danger of exaggerated claims for the products that it promotes. The weakness of the social interaction perspective lies in the staggering difficulties that can be encountered in trying to discover, in all but the simplest organizations, the interaction networks which theoretically should guide an effective strategy. An inevitable lack of resources also flaws the problem-solving strategy. As it stands, that strategy would require more change agents than it is reasonable to expect could ever be trained.

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[15] Ibid.

We can nonetheless learn from the traditional change strategies. Study of their assumptions and their failures puts us in a better position to formulate the basic requirement for a feasible and effective change strategy. The basic question remains: How can we, with relatively few special change agents, initiate and maintain changes which are constructive and which also take into account the individual needs of schools?

Emerging Change Strategies

A random look at current educational literature reveals much terminology not present in the literature of five to seven years ago. Planning-programming-budgeting systems (PPBS), guaranteed performance contracting, teacher power, home television-cassette learning, free schools, program evaluation review techniques (PERT), student power, onsite teacher education centers, storefront schools, franchise schools, experimental networks, systems planning, voucher plans, community action, internship, and leagues of schools—all are part of the new vocabulary. Not one of these terms per se represents a change strategy. Collectively, however, they give hints as to how new educational designs may emerge in the years to come.

Newer emergent ideas related to changing elementary education can be arbitrarily grouped into a number of broad categories which may or may not become strategies. For the purposes of this chapter, these categories are listed as (a) political strategies, (b) personnel strategies, (c) systems planning, (d) alternatives to public schooling, and (e) mass communications.

POLITICAL STRATEGIES

Prior to the sixties, there were few persons in America—either educationists or lay citizens—who thought in terms of the politics of schooling. Nonetheless, public education has always been "political" in the sense that, as in other governmental agencies, political processes were utilized to formulate public policy.

At the heart of the political processes are three key concepts: conflict, power, and policy formation.

Conflict serves as a catalyst for at least two emerging change strategies. First, there are those approaches which call for spontaneous or violent acts which presumably will result in the desired change. Strikes, school burnings, marches, sit-ins, and riots, for instance, are seen as ways of forcing those in authority to make whatever changes are desired. While much of this activity is directed at higher education and secondary schools, there is no reason to believe that it will not surface in elementary schools. While it can be said that such change strategies are almost invariably destructive and that they are likely to create counteractive attitudes against needed change, it must be noted that much change—some of it desirable—has occurred as a result of such acts.

Second, there are those who see conflict as both inevitable and desirable, although a majority of educators are not likely to be attuned to such a point of view. Typically, school people tend to suppress or avoid conflict, assuming that if it is ignored long enough it will go away. However, such suppression or avoidance more often than not leads to even more destructive confrontations at a later date. Those who see conflict as inevitable and desirable suggest that there is a need for "task groups" or cadres of conflict managers who can move into educational settings as objective third parties to assist those who are in conflict to reach a compromise on implementing needed changes. This is analogous to negotiation and arbitration models used by management and labor.

Power has become both a political catchword and a reality in American education. There is student power, community power, and teacher power. In summarizing the potential for the various power movements in education, Sand quotes from Fantini as follows:

> . . . The participants who lead reform in the 70's will be those closest

to the action—teachers, parents, and students. Participation of these three publics in the governance of urban schools carries the potential for triggering change in substance and personnel. If all that were to happen under the new participatory movement should be a shift in control, so that a new group controlled the schools as an end in itself, the educational institution would remain outdated. The hope, however, is that those seeking control will use their political energy to set in motion the search for institutional renewal at the local school level where it counts.[16]

Three potentially powerful strategies having to do with the new configurations of educational *policy formulation* are emerging. These are (a) new federal-state-local relationships, (b) metropolitan planning, and (c) decentralization.

There can be no doubt that the federal enabling legislation of the mid-sixties accelerated and upset the balance of power in American education. Much of this legislation sent funds directly from the federal level to the localities, thus circumventing state governments. Community action and community power were first encouraged and then harnessed. New relationships were formed which, in the main, created significant changes that are now irreversible. This is why "revenue sharing" between federal and state governments should never be by itself the federal policy. Such a policy would close one vital and productive option in bringing about educational change.

Nystrand and Cunningham have proposed a metropolitan planning scheme which they call "Federated Urban School Systems."[17] Such systems, organized across urban-suburban lines, would deal concurrently with many of the problems which now plague American education and American society, notably integration and the equalization of fiscal resources.[18] The common notion is that only the cities would benefit. However, central city–suburban comparisons do exist and apparently indicate that suburbs would benefit from metropolitan fiscal arrangements in at least some standard metropolitan areas.[19]

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[16] Ole Sand, "Strategies for Change," in *The Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect*, Seventieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 223. This is from an unpublished manuscript basic to Fantini's book, *The Reform of Urban Schools*.

[17] Raphael O. Nystrand and Luvern L. Cunningham, "Federated Urban School Systems: Compromising the Centralization-Decentralization Issue," in *Toward Improved Urban Education*, ed. Frank W. Lutz (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 95-111.

[18] See Robert J. Havighurst, ed., *Metropolitanism: Its Challenges to Education*, Sixty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Decentralization implies moving the locus of decision-making and related accountability to the unit most closely involved in the actual education of children and youth, the local school. Arising from such decentralization, it is hoped, will be a variety of means and paths for reaching the common goals of education. Watson clearly states this position when he says:

> The key element in rebuilding urban school systems to facilitate improved educational opportunities may be decentralization. Frequently confused with community control, decentralization actually implies a shift from generalized impersonal decision-making to allowing decisions to be made as close as possible to the action, the interface between teacher and child. Although broad policies may still be set by a central board, implementation will be planned and carried out locally, with due regard for local needs, interests and resources.[20]

Regardless of which combinations of political change strategies are used in the future, the significant point is that they *will* be used. In the process we must anticipate that there will be inevitable power struggles, conflict will occur, and policy-making will readjust itself to varying levels in the system.

PERSONNEL STRATEGIES

Schooling inherently is a human endeavor. Financially, well over 75 percent of all operating funds (exclusive of capital outlay) goes for salaries and employee benefits. Further, despite all efforts to make instruction "teacher free," the cornerstone of schooling, particularly elementary schooling, ultimately is the kind and quality of interactions which transpire among students and adults.

A basic implication becomes immediately apparent to those interested in change in schooling. More than fifty years of research indicates that teachers and school administrators tend to come from predominantly lower middle-class origins and to have provincial and parochial outlooks that limit their capacity to adapt to the rapid changes occurring in our society.[21] Obviously, a wider variety of social types must be recruited into education (i.e., members of ethnic and racial minorities, the young, the change-oriented, the socially conscious).

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[19] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965).

[20] Bernard C. Watson, "Rebuilding the System: Practical Goals or Impossible Dream?" *Phi Delta Kappan* 52 (1971): 349-63.

Beyond such now well-known methods as differentiated staffing, internship, and team teaching (see chapter 9), there are two personnel strategies which must be considered in the years ahead. One is improved training of teachers—preservice and in-service. The second is selective early retirement for teachers.

Retirement systems, in general, encourage teachers to accumulate as many years of service as possible. Further, since retirement income is usually based upon the highest salaries earned during active years plus years of service, the motivation to stay active as long as possible is extremely great.

Most states have retirement laws which allow or cause teachers to retire at approximately sixty-five years of age. Allowing teachers to retire at, say, fifty-five would give considerable flexibility to school districts in terms of their ability to recruit newer social types. Incentives in the form of higher retirement pay would have to accompany such a plan, but the obvious argument that this would be too expensive does not necessarily hold true. First, personal contributions to retirement could be increased. Second, part-time teaching arrangements would be possible, particularly for outstanding retirees past the age of fifty-five. Finally, by decreasing substantially the average age of the teaching force, the corresponding average salary level of the teaching force itself also would be decreased. Such systems, perhaps with federal financial incentives given, need to be developed experimentally.

For the time being, much of the effort to improve teaching has to be directed toward designing strategies to improve the training of both our present teachers and administrators and those who are preparing to enter education. In-service training must take on some new form other than extension classes or district workshops. It will have to be problem-centered and probably should be organized at the elementary school itself.

Since many university or college professors tend to be theoretical and research-oriented, they possess only a portion of the knowledge and skills that need to be transmitted to the future or practicing teacher. Teachers already in the field should work with university faculty as a training team for new teachers. Such teams would conduct seminars centering on the current problems of beginning teachers and on analysis of teaching behaviors in a reality setting. The basic teacher education curriculum would be comprised of a series of learning modules which present knowledge to be applied in critiquing daily lessons and would be taught by either the faculty or experienced teachers in the school setting. Not only would this method be beneficial for the growth of future teachers, but the teacher and staff within the school would soon be caught up in this spirit of inquiry of teaching behavior.

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[21] David Rogers, *110 Livingston Street: Politics and Bureaucracy in the New York School System* (New York: Random House, 1969).

SYSTEMS PLANNING

A systems approach is a process for the planning of change. It proceeds through a series of steps and provides an educational planner with a "direction" for achieving his goals more efficiently. The process can be as simple or as elaborate as the planner desires or is able to afford in terms of computer facilities, personnel, and so forth. While a systems approach helps us to ask the right *questions* about change, it does not, of course, provide the right *answers.*

At the simplest level, the planner has to ask himself three important questions: (a) What do I want to do? (b) How am I going to do it best? (c) How do I know how well I've done it?

At a sophisticated systems level, there are newer modes of planning and analysis which can be utilized to make more rational decisions about efficient use of resources (inputs) in order to gain maximum educational benefits (outputs). These newer modes, such as cost-benefit analysis, systems analysis, and program budgeting, have been utilized successfully by many government agencies to make budgetary decisions. In general, these modes involve the following steps: (a) identification of objectives, (b) identification of alternative programs, (c) estimation of costs and resources necessary to each alternative, (d) development of heuristic models which define relationships between inputs and outputs, (e) identification of performance criteria, (f) making decisions based on the application of criteria to alternative programs, and (g) measurement of the attainment of objectives. At the same time, such procedures must be followed with caution lest they become a mere mystique. They have no inherent merit superior to the values of the persons who utilize them.

An obvious problem or limitation of systems planning is cost. In California it is estimated that it will cost 1 percent of the total funds expended on elementary and secondary education in the state to implement PPBS fully.[22] This estimate may be too conservative since there are specialists who contend that a figure of 5 percent is more likely.

A second major limitation of systems planning as it is now conducted is that too often it is imposed; that is, it moves downward from the state level to the district and finally to the school. Thus, there is a very real danger that management systems or planning systems will, in the end, do more to ossify operations than to "free them up."[23] Also there is the danger that forms of systems planning, particularly PPBS, will lead to statewide programs of education.

Yet another serious limitation of systems planning is the inability of some of its proponents to utilize cost-benefit analysis in areas of human behavior. No system of evaluation, including highly sophisticated computer simulation, eliminates the important role of human judgment. The adage "garbage in–garbage out" applies not only to computers but to all forms of closed systems management.

At the same time, educators must not blind themselves to an obvious strength of systematic planning—its focus on goals. Some type of needs assessment and goal-determining procedure which deeply involves teachers and community in a discussion of goals can be a highly important and positive outcome of systems planning.

A potential positive outcome of program budgeting (as distinct from a total system of planning) is that education can begin to know how much it is investing in a given program such as art, mathematics, or reading. Such information would lead to the consideration of a number of significant questions related to purpose. For example, "Should we really have mathematics instruction in the primary years?" and "What kind of primary reading program should we have so that we do not have to teach reading, except to a few, in the intermediate years of elementary education?" or programmatically, "What benefits might accrue from nongrading and team teaching?"

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[22] PPBS is under significant study in the state of California. Program budgeting is now common. Whether a total planning system is mandated will be known in 1973. The position of the state legislature and State Department of Education seems to be to support decentralization of decision-making, *but with adequate controls*. PPBS is seen as providing those controls. See *Educational Goals and Objectives*, California School Boards Association (September 1969).

[23] The so-called scientific management movement in education during the 1920s was, in fact, a "fizzle." The failure of this movement is well documented in Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

ALTERNATIVES TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

Since the early beginnings of public education in this nation, private schools, church-related schools, and independent schools have been in existence. In the main, however, these three variants have merely duplicated the program of the public school, possibly with the addition of a few special features such as boarding facilities or religious indoctrination. In a few cases, quality teaching also characterized yesteryear's private education as in the Horace Mann Lincoln School, the Ohio State Laboratory School, or the Francis Parker School in Chicago.

Within the past decade, several new phenomena have begun to emerge as alternatives to public schooling, particularly at the elementary level. Among these developments—not all of equal value—are guaranteed performance contracting, voucher plans, franchise schools, the "open" school, and revitalized private schooling. Individually, none of these developments represents a basically new strategy. Collectively, however, if backed by policy and resources, they could be developed into new avenues for improving public education.

Performance contracting and voucher plans are discussed in detail in chapter 13. Both take place essentially within the context of the public school. Franchise schools may present one alternative to public schooling. At this point in time a number of companies are gingerly "putting their toes" into the educational profit water by opening day care centers for preschool age children. It is too early yet to do much more than note this development which began auspiciously but proceeds cautiously.[24] During the past several years the "new school," "storefront school," or "free school" have rapidly emerged as other interesting alternatives to public schools. So many of these schools have started (albeit many also were short-lived) that a book about them, *Rasberry Exercises*,[25] has enjoyed considerable notice.

In essence, most of these schools grow out of the feeling that public schools have either failed in providing basic education or that they are almost totally "dehumanizing." Further, this suggests that anyone who has his own "philosophy of living" or life-style should collaborate with others of similar beliefs to educate their own children in their own schools so that these children will not be forced to conform in "establishment" schools. In particular, there are many free school proponents who advocate models similar to the well-known Summerhill of A. S. Neill.[26]

Finally, there are those, particularly in Catholic circles, who are suggesting that one significant role of established private schools should be to serve as innovative models for public schools.[27] Recognizing the fact that much that goes on in private education is often a mediocre replication of public schooling, the more enlightened leaders are calling for a new perspective in their schools. Added to this, since the private schools are suffering severe financial problems, a new approach of providing alternatives to public schools is seen as one way of justifying their very existence.

MASS COMMUNICATION

One of the serious mistakes we make in the consideration of education is to confuse it with schooling. The two are by no means synonymous! Much human learning, if not most, takes place outside of formal school settings. An emerging educational change strategy, that of adopting mass communication or the media, is beginning to take shape in the U.S. Despite the present high cost, there is interest in and investigation of home learning through television cassettes and through direct home dial-access systems. Many educational television stations broadcast second-language education programs. And of special note is "Sesame Street," the nationally televised program directed at teaching preschool-age children. Many of these developments and many similar ones such as "The Electric Company" may be worthy of consideration and support as strategies for change.

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[24] See, for example, Joseph Featherstone, "The Day Care Problem—Kentucky Fried Children," *New Republic* (November 1970); Herbert Mack and Ann Cook, "Business in Education—The Discovery Center Hustle," *Social Policy* 1 (September/October 1970).

[25] Salli Rasberry and Robert Greenway, *Rasberry Exercises: How to Start Your Own School: And Make a Book* (Freestone, Calif.: Freestone Publishing Co., 1970).

[26] A. S. Neill, *Freedom—Not License!* (New York: Hart Publishing Co., 1966).

[27] Jerrold M. Novotney, "Innovations in Catholic Education," *Catholic School Journal* 69 (November 1969): 24-29.

The potential of all these alternative strategies for change is that they allow for freedom of choice or pluralism. Furthermore, they provide healthy competition and the potential for the development of new ideas for the established system of public schools. The major limitation is that by encouraging pluralistic schooling, we may give up the unifying ideal that our schools should serve to integrate and bring cohesiveness to our total society. On this significant value question may hinge the future of alternative strategies.

Building Self-renewing Schools

One concept which has been implicit in all of the previous discussion in this chapter is that of the self-renewing school.[28] The idea of the self-renewing school directs attention not to whether schools "change," but, how well they continue to handle the problems they must face. This section will describe an intervention strategy which is focused on increasing and maintaining a school's ability to cope effectively with its changing environments in the pursuit of its goals. The basic form of the strategy was developed in a five-year project with eighteen elementary schools organized into the League of Cooperating Schools.[29]

[28] A well-known discussion of the notion of self-renewing organizations is found in John Gardner, *Self-Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963). The school setting is considered in Matthew B. Miles and Dale Lake, "Self-Renewal in School Systems: A Strategy for Planned Change," in *Concepts for Social Change*, ed. G. Watson (Washington, D.C.: National Training Laboratory, Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1967).

[29] The "Study of Educational Change" was conducted by the Research Di-

The strategy is constructed from ideas that have received relatively little attention to date in the literature on change. Four major assumptions serve as building blocks: (a) the single school is the appropriate target unit for an intervention designed to develop self-renewal capabilities; (b) any group of single schools contains a large pool of resources which can be mobilized for group self-help; (c) the key to a self-renewing school lies in its staff's focus on decision-making processes; and (d) the most effective and most economical mechanism for developing and supporting self-renewing schools is a peer group system of single schools.

THE SINGLE SCHOOL AS THE TARGET FOR CHANGE

Some years ago Goodlad began to press for recognition of the single school as the most appropriate basic unit to deal with in efforts to effect educational change. His description of the educational completeness of the individual school can be construed as a fundamental condition for a self-renewing organization:

> The individual school has a body politic made up of parents and pupils; a professional team of teachers with a designated leader; the necessary accouterments such as buildings, equipment, and materials. These are the essential ingredients for establishing a tradition . . . a past against which to appraise the present and plan for the future. These are the essential ingredients, too, for creating an institutional personality. . . .[30]

In the ensuing years, an increasing amount of attention has been given to the school as a social system,[31] and the advent of the concept of self-renewal certainly evoked an image of many schools, each managing somehow to do its thing in its own community environment. Yet the single school has been largely bypassed as a primary target for most change strategies. An intervention may be directed at all the teachers in a school, but it is the individual teacher and/or classroom that is usually seen as the unit of change. A proposal for change may include modifying the organizational struc-

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vision of the Institute for Development of Educational Activities (|I|D|E|A|), Los Angeles, 1966-71.

[30] John I. Goodlad, "The Individual School and Its Principal: Key Setting and Key Person," *Educational Leadership* 13 (October 1965): 2-6.

[31] For example, Jacob W. Getzels, James M. Lipham, and Roald F. Campbell, *Educational Administration as a Social Process* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

ture of a single school, but the modifications are typically sketched out first with the district administration.

None of these strategies really takes advantage of what Goodlad referred to as the "organismic wholeness" of the single school, in the sense of working primarily with the school's entire professional team (i.e., principal and teachers) to plan and implement changes that are meaningful in that school's situation.[32] This neglect is not surprising since the vision of the single school as a relatively autonomous partnership between a professional staff and an involved community has only recently been taken seriously as one alternative to our present schools. The futility of change strategies, however, which ignore the organismic wholeness of the school was predicted by Goodlad. This futility has become depressingly clear in the small success that has followed enormous effort to change our schools.

Yet a strategy which would work with one school staff at a time is neither feasible nor potentially successful. In order to make changes, a school must usually have access to more resources than it contains, and it is utterly impractical to consider supplying these resources by assigning special consultant help to one school at a time. In addition, when a school succeeds in making changes, it runs the risk of incurring ridicule or hostility from others in its environment rather than receiving the support it needs to continue to move toward self-renewal. It does not seem reasonable to expect a single school to make it alone.

THE POSSIBILITIES FOR SELF-HELP

Two aspects of the typical relationships between a school and the outside professional resources which are supplied to it militate against the development of self-renewing schools. First, a school has little power to increase the availability of such resources. In general, a school receives most of its resources from a central pool, as allocated by the district office. A special program may provide a school with additional assistance from a change agent, but everyone knows that when the project ends, so does the change consultant's help. The concept of the self-renewing school, however, envisions a school that can roll with the punches, calling in new help as it is needed. Such flexibility in problem-solving in any organization probably requires a large measure of control over available resources.

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[32] An exception is found in some of the interventions based on a problem-solving model. See, for example, Richard Schmuck, Philip J. Runkel, and Daniel Langmeyer, "Improving Organizational Problem Solving in a School Faculty," *Applied Behavioral Science* 5 (October/November/December, 1969): 455-82.

A second and equally serious set of factors inhibiting self-renewal stems from the expert-client model through which outside professional resources are typically supplied to a school. The model assumes a fundamental difference between the outside expert who has valuable knowledge and the school staff needing that knowledge. In spite of the sincere efforts of many consultants to have the school staff decide what help it needs, the staff usually looks to the outsider for answers, which, given his status as "expert," he must have. On the other hand, it is common for a school staff to be somewhat skeptical of advice from a consultant who, after all, does not have to deal with the same problems that it does. The resulting ambivalence toward the outside resources and toward its own capabilities is not conducive to developing a school staff which sees itself as reasonably able to define and work on its problems—a basic requirement for a self-renewing school.

But if a school is not to get outside help via the traditional consultant, where will it get the additional ideas and encouragement that it may need? Experience with the League of Cooperating Schools suggests that most of this help can come from other schools, formed as a cooperative group. Any group of schools has untapped resources of useful knowledge routinely produced from their own work. Sharing these resources within the group goes a long way toward overcoming the two inhibitions to self-renewal which were described above. First, the amount of easily available resources is greatly increased. Second, the relationship between a school and its outside help is radically different. The information which principals and teachers share with one another is perceived as highly relevant to the actual problems which the school faces, and, by acting as both a giver and receiver of help in a group of equals, a school staff becomes less apt to sit back and wait for expert answers.

DIALOGUE, DECISION-MAKING, ACTION, EVALUATION

The specific behaviors expected of a staff in a self-renewing school vary from one description to another, but it seems clear that the one quality shared by such staffs is the way in which they approach problems which confront the school. A generalizable strategy for producing self-renewing schools therefore must involve some common denominator which facilitates attempts to cope with problems. The league project identified this common denominator as a process involving dialogue, decision-making, action, and evaluation, and referred to it as DDAE. In one form or another this process occurs in every school among staff members, students, and parents. Dialogue about school problems may involve either a few people or a large proportion of the staff. Decision-making may or may not be highly rational, may or may not represent group consensus. Evaluation of results may be formal or informal, conscious or unconscious. Still, it is through this process that a school copes, for better or for worse, with its problems.

The quality of the DDAE process in any school can be judged by several criteria, but its most salient characteristic in most schools is its relatively low visibility to the staff. Therefore, the first step toward building self-renewing schools is to create in the staff a constant awareness of the way in which things do or do not get done. With that awareness, each staff can seek the resources it needs to adjust its DDAE process to meet its goals and can socialize new members at a high level of introspection about DDAE.

THE PEER GROUP OF SCHOOLS

The three foregoing concepts imply the need for a strategy which joins these concepts in a framework to nourish self-renewal. Two promising themes appear in the problems that have been identified:

1. The single school is the basic unit for self-renewal, but it is not possible to work with one school at a time, nor can a single school be expected to maintain, by itself, the behaviors required for self-renewal.
2. The traditional methods of providing assistance and stimulation for the single school tend to create in the school staff a dependence on outside figures, a situation which works against the development of self-renewal processes.

Experience suggests that these difficulties can be overcome by building a peer group of schools in which member schools share their resources and their problems and expect one another to focus attention on the DDAE process.[33] The rationale for such an intervention strategy defines the basic task as that of resocializing school staffs and depends upon a peer group rather than an expert consultant as the socializing agent.[34] The intervention is designed to create a group of schools which come to identify themselves as a group with certain behaviors expected of members. Since, under these conditions, the schools themselves reinforce expected behaviors in one another, the behaviors presumably can be maintained after the interventionists leave the scene.

The power of a group to shape the behavior of its members of course lies in the perceived value of belonging to the group. The sharing of resources and problems tends to make membership in a peer group of schools desirable because the group then provides easy access to outside help and, even more important, highly visible evidence that a school is not alone in its efforts.

When the behavior expected of members in such a group is close attention to the DDAE process, self-renewing behaviors in the school staffs are apt to be built and maintained. The same interaction through which support is supplied is also the channel for continual peer pressure on each school to keep a sharp eye on its own operations. Frequent sharing of ideas and problems in a peer group of schools provides each school with a nonthreatening, wider perspective in which to judge the measure of its success and to recognize the new problems that inevitably result from its solution of the previous problem. This informal surveillance by the group of its own members becomes a socialization mechanism for organizations, a means by which a school is led to institutionalize self-renewing behaviors.

Recruiting schools for a group is not as difficult as might first appear. It is possible, obviously, for a district to set up a peer group structure with all its schools. The greatest obstacle to be overcome might be the competitive atmosphere which frequently exists among schools in a single district. If a district is reluctant to involve all of its schools, it is usually willing to allow at least one school to join a new group set up by an outside intervention team. (Each member of the League of Cooperating Schools was from a different district.) In this case, the major problem lies in the fact that the school is now a member of two groups—the new peer group and its district group. The expectations which a school faces as a member of its district group may conflict with the careful attention to the DDAE process expected in the new peer group. The ingenuity of school staffs is considerable in this situation. In the great majority of instances which we have observed, the school staff tended to conform to the peer-group expectation, yet was able to avoid severe disruption in its district relationships.

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[33] This strategy is discussed in greater detail in M. Bentzen, "A Peer Group Strategy for Intervention in Schools" (Unpublished paper, Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., Research Division, Los Angeles, 1970).

[34] Good summaries of concepts and problems in adult socialization are available in Orville G. Brim, Jr., and Stanton Wheeler, *Socalization after Childhood: Two Essays* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966); and Orville G. Brim, Jr., "Adult Socialization," in *Socialization and Society*, ed. John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968), pp. 182-226.

Other serious problems are encountered in the kind of interventionist role that is required to implement this strategy. The interventionist must act as a *facilitator of interaction among school staffs*. He is not a person who has any kind of answers; he simply encourages and assists schools to get together to discover and share their own problems and to establish ways of helping each other find solutions to those problems. The intervention objective is to build a group of schools which will *look to themselves* to support their own self-renewing behaviors.[35] This objective, however, goes against the grain of intervention tradition. There is a powerful tendency to maintain the expert-client relationship between the interventionists and the schools.

> We are apparently victims of years of schooling which have continually reinforced the notion that if we ask around long enough, we will find someone with superior knowledge who can, with relative ease, offer solutions to our problems. So, we see school staffs waiting to be told what to do. . . . So, too, we see the experts eager to tell the schools what to do. Most of those who play the interventionist role have a true commitment to helping schools improve and an honest belief that they can

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[35] Per Dalin has put forth a similar view of the interventionist role in his suggestion to "unleash the possibilities for development in the system." See his "Planning for Change in Education: Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning," *International Review of Education* 16 (1970): 436-50.

> be of most help by imparting to school staffs, in one way or another, some kind of "higher-level" information. . . .
>
> Indeed, school staffs need to gain perspective on their problems, do need to learn a variety of new skills, but our observations have been that the breakthrough insights that result in truly changed behavior in principals and teachers usually come from sharing information with others who they *know* face the same daily situation that they do. It is unfortunate that many who play the role of expert-interventionist perceive such exchanges as mere exercises in "pooling ignorance"—as if their own usefulness depended upon the existence of ignorance in others.[36]

The problems arising from the concept of the interventionist as simply a facilitator of interaction among schools point directly to the fundamental difference between the peer group–DDAE strategy and the other change strategies which were described earlier. As noted before, other change strategies see the world as divided into two relevant sets—those who produce or hold some critical knowledge and those (in this case, schools) who use or should use this knowledge (see figure 1). The peer group–DDAE strategy starts with quite another picture of the world, a picture of many systems (individuals and organizations), each of which is simultaneously a producer and user of knowledge. The strategy, diagramed in figure 2, links together certain of these systems, i.e., schools, in a group which maximizes the flow of knowledge and problems among its members.

Just as the concept of the self-renewing school switches emphasis from making discrete changes designed for improving schools to creating schools which can cope effectively with a changing en-

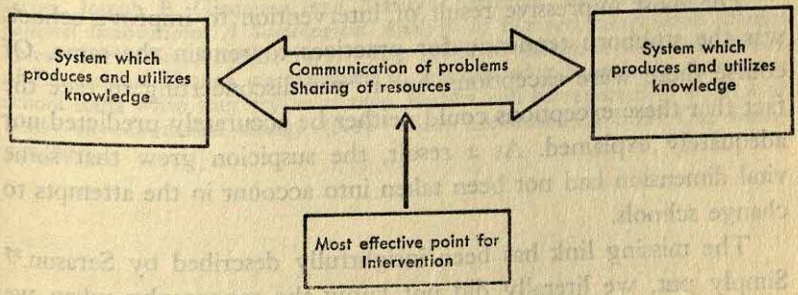
System which produces and utilizes knowledge
Communication of problems
Sharing of resources
System which produces and utilizes knowledge
Most effective point for Intervention

FIG. 2. A peer-group model of dissemination of knowledge

vironment, so must a successful strategy for building self-renewing schools discard the notion that acquiring and disseminating valuable knowledge is the province of a few. It must face up to a future whose uncertainty can only be handled by viewing every operational system as both a producer and a user of potentially relevant knowledge, a future in which the paramount need is for ready access to a broad array of knowledge resources for use in solving problems that cannot be foretold. By creating group networks in which resources are mobilized for practicing different ways of coping with problems, the peer group–DDAE strategy becomes a parsimonious mechanism for setting in motion schools that conceivably can have more control over shaping their own future.

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[36] Bentzen, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

Conclusion

In the past decade or so, critical events on the world scene turned the spotlight of public attention on the schools in our country. The call for changing schools brought a furor of intervention programs, and several well-defined types of change strategies were developed. A useful by-product of these efforts has been the further accumulation of knowledge about the nature and use of change strategies, as well as a sharper identification of incipient forces which influence change.

Gradually, however, it became evident that there was little agreement about what should be changed in schools and about the most effective techniques for accomplishing change. While the problem of changing schools was increasingly clarified, satisfying solutions remained few and far between.

The most impressive result of intervention to improve schools was the stubborn tendency for practices to remain the same. Of course there were exceptions, but it was disconcerting to face the fact that these exceptions could neither be accurately predicted nor adequately explained. As a result, the suspicion grew that some vital dimension had not been taken into account in the attempts to change schools.

The missing link has been insightfully described by Sarason.[37] Simply put, we literally did not know the topography when we spoke of changing schools. There did not exist adequate descriptions of what constituted daily life in our schools, much less of what that life looked like under some pressure to change. When all is said and done, the most useful outcome of the enormous amount of time, energy, thought, and money poured into efforts to change schools has been to dramatize the fundamental need to build true understanding of what we assumed we knew so well—what goes on in our schools.[38]

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[37] Seymour B. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971).

Once we recognize that we must start with a close look at daily life in schools, we quickly see that the need for change differs from school to school and that meaningful change is not a one-time phenomenon. It is then a short step to the concept of the self-renewing school. We have come to the sober realization that school communities—administration, teachers, students, and parents—must be encouraged and trusted to engage cooperatively and consciously in the process of coping with their own problems and hopes.

The serious acceptance of this "change" objective requires an intervention strategy which can reach all schools and maintain an environment for continued organizational learning. While other strategies which provide specialized help can be used wherever school need dictates and resources are available, we suggest that the major intervention effort should be to facilitate mutual assistance and mutual surveillance among groups of schools. The handwriting we see on the wall is that the schools will either do it themselves or it will not get done.

[38] Several recent studies that contribute to this understanding of elementary school life are Goodlad, *Behind the Classroom Door*, op. cit., and Neal Gross, Joseph B. Giaquinta, and Marilyn Bernstein, *Implementing Organizational Innovations: A Sociological Analysis of Planned Educational Change* (New York: Basic Books, 1971). The |I|D|E|A| Research Division's Study of Educational Change was designed to describe what happens in elementary school staffs when they try to change. Results will be reported in a series of books on educational change (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., forthcoming).

CHAPTER XV

Prospects and Prerequisites for the Improvement of Elementary Education: 1973-1985

HAROLD G. SHANE

Introduction

Earlier chapters of the yearbook have made clear that the elementary school has been expected, for five decades past, to perform certain functions which it was not originally designed to perform. The new demands were generated by a rapidly changing society—one which witnessed in fifty years more profound cultural changes in worldwide life-styles than had occurred in the preceding eight thousand years.[1]

It is remarkable that the turbulence of the times and the steady proliferation of educational ideas did not eventuate in more genuine or basic change in educational practice! Perhaps educational future shock kept the schools from assuming a more aggressive role in working for educational changes that were in keeping with the times. Or perhaps too many teachers had, from overexposure, developed a remarkable immunity to new ideas which enabled them to resist the invasion of promising innovations which might have meant more work or have become a source of controversy in the home community.

FOCAL POINTS FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Whatever the precise reasons, the fact remains that elementary education has neither managed to cope with many of the tasks thrust upon it nor shown the capacity to adopt certain potentially promising practices, nor to orient itself to the need to anticipate the coming decade rather than merely to preserve past decades. This chapter examines what the elementary school might yet do and might yet become in the dozen years between 1973 and 1985. To serve this purpose it concentrates on three basic points: the need for changes in educational *goals*, the need to create a basically new organizational *structure* in which age-grading is abolished, and the need for pressing changes and additions in the realm of contemporary *subject matter*. Each point serves as a major section heading for the chapter.

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[1] For an early insightful view of the problem, cf. William H. Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926).

The Need For New Goals in the Culture and in Its Schools

Most thoughtful leaders in the various dimensions of American life concede the need for new goals to take the place of the sense of direction with which most persons were imbued by home, school, church, and community prior to 1940. Indeed, the goals or values crisis is one of the most if not *the* most difficult confronting the nation.

FROM GLACIAL CHANGE . . .

Before 1940 and much more so prior to 1900, the average human had the larger part of an entire lifetime to adjust to the glacial changes of his times. A few prescient persons such as the English journalist and poet, Thomas Hood (1799-1845), with only a few kilns and looms to provide him with clues, foresaw the vast changes that industrialization might bring. But most lacked the insight needed to sense the import of more than a few of the changes in the past century: the first railroad, the first steamboat, the first reliable anesthetic and antiseptic, and the first shock wave of belief-shaking ideas such as Darwin's mid-nineteenth-century interpretation of the origin of species.

Because change before 1900 was slow, it was possible to imprint children with accepted, enduring ideas of what was good and beautiful or bad and ugly. Home, school, and community could implant an invisible compass course in a child's mind with the comforting thought that the "right" ideas would guide him from infancy to the grave.

. . . TO EXPONENTIAL CHANGE

By 1950 many of the old guidelines had been erased and familiar landmarks blurred by the fast, erosive action of the knowledge explosion and the changes it wrought. The value crisis was well under way in the 1950s and was too visible in the 1960s for even the blindly stubborn to deny. Abraham Maslow was moved to say, "The ultimate disease of our times is valuelessness."

Society as a whole was jarred by dissent, new permissive attitudes toward sex, the frightening knowledge that the planet was endangered by man's unwise use of technologies, and by dozens of similar developments. As for the elementary schools—and for educational institutions at all levels—the value crisis caught them in the midst of the struggle between the static and the dynamic, between traditional educational functions and set values on the one hand, and "open" schooling and more elastic ideas as to what is of worth on the other.

At present we desperately need an answer to the question of what constitutes the good life, who shall share in it, to what degree, and on what terms. Lacking such answers and the decisions to which they point, it is difficult—perhaps literally impossible—to develop an image of the kind of educated man and woman which the schools should seek to prepare for life in the twenty-first century. Since such goals are likely to endure only if there is a broad-based approach to them and only if Americans reach a consensus as to what is "good," the general direction in which American society will be forced to move seems self-evident.

A PRIMARY VALUE DILEMMA

The value crisis of the 1970s now transcends a conflict between change and nonchange, for change itself has been institutionalized. A great challenge—perhaps our greatest challenge—is to confront the dilemma created by decades of increasing material well-being. These years have fed the insatiable appetites of two hundred million people for an increasing variety of consumer goods. Their grandparents wistfully *dreamed* of such creature comforts, and by the early 1950s persons now in their middle years were *hopeful* of achieving them. By the 1960s young adults in the United States were *expecting* a more than equitable share of the world's goods and it seems likely that by the late 1970s today's school-age children and youth will be *demanding* the cars, travel, refrigerators, air conditioning, comfortable homes, and leisure time that only the very rich enjoyed forty or fifty years ago.

The dilemma, of course, acquires sharper horns each year because of the fact that consumers' aspiration levels have skyrocketed throughout the Old World and the Third World as well as in the New World, due to mass media and to massive movements of travelers. Furthermore, there is a Wagnerian tone of tragedy in our sudden realization in the past three or four years that there appear to be frightening prospects as to the limits of growth—evidence of our entrapment in a closing circle of pollution and of dwindling resources, which may well foreshadow the need to decrease rather than increase the conspicuous consumption and waste in which more and more of humankind—understandably—would like to indulge.[2]

But enough on the value crisis and the related muddy problem of what constitutes the good life. Let us turn to the question of changes in the structure of elementary education which seem likely to permit us to improve the matrices within which teaching and learning occur.

An Infrastructure for Improved Schooling

As one looks at present organizational approaches to education in the United States, it is obvious that a great deal of variety exists from one district to another. Schooling may begin at two or at five or even at six or seven years. School-leaving ages vary and the graded system is downright confusing—often seeming to be based on what buildings of what sizes happened in the past to have been built in the school system. Thus we have an enormous spectrum of plans: K-3-3-6, N-K-3-3-2-4, K-6-6, K-8-4, and so on. Paradoxically, the extent to which the numerical variety is permeated by bureaucracies is essentially similar. As Longstreet contended in chapter 10, many attempts to create "open" or more relevant schools have foundered on bureaucratic shoals and reefs.

Let us forget tradition and the constraints frequently imposed by the vintage school plants that we have inherited and look at the promising ideas—some going back to the 1950s—that suggest the kind of infrastructure that will facilitate not only elementary education but all education at any age level.[3]

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[2] D. H. Meadows et al., *The Limits of Growth* (London: Earth Island Ltd., 1972); G. R. Taylor, *The Doomsday Book* (New York: World Book Co., 1972); Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

BACKGROUNDS OF A NEW INFRASTRUCTURE

First of all, what principles should govern our efforts to improve the setting for learning during the 1973-1985 interval on which we arbitrarily have chosen to focus? For one thing, pediatricians, psychologists, and early-childhood educators appear to agree that social responsibility for young learners should begin with provision for appropriate medical and physical examinations, both before and after birth. Such care, of course, would be meaningless without suitable follow-up.

Second, beginning literally with a baby's birth-cry, deliberately planned cognitive input should be devised as part of his educational experience. Schooling, with emphasis on developmental experiences instead of routine custodial-type care, probably should begin no later than at age three.

From the very outset, emphasis should be placed on a *personalized* program—one which is governed by professional study of the behavioral clues which suggest a given learner's needs and potentialities. The personalized program, by the way, is distinctly different in purpose from the *individualized* approach brilliantly pioneered over fifty years ago in the Dalton, Massachusetts, and Winnetka, Illinois, schools. These individualized approaches involved creating materials and providing experiences which helped the child, in his own way, to meet certain social and academic standards that were associated with group norms based on tests while the learner progressed at his own rate; his academic rate—and what was deemed to be appropriate content—was rather firmly fixed in advance.

The personalized concept disavows any form of academic Procrustean bed. The scope, sequence, and pacing of what is learned are uniquely personal—governed by pupil motivation and professional judgment rather than by conventional curricular precepts or group norms. Progress resides in the learner's improving, dynamic relationship with a learning environment that takes account of a changing culture. Success is not determined by the child's ability to adjust to the demands of a static culture that adults have decided the schools should transmit and preserve.

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[3] During 1971-1972 the writer (under USOE contract No. OEC-0-72-0354) spent four months working with scholars and specialists in futures research. Many of the points regarding the restructuring of education are based on suggestions from more than eighty futurists who were asked how public education might be modified to help children and youth to better cope with tomorrow.

It is not the intent of the preceding paragraph to suggest that standards be discarded or to propose that intellectual content be downgraded. The program modeled below actually would be more demanding than most programs are today, but it also would be more flexible and more motivating, challenging rather than harsh, and fair to each child or youth at each moment of his seamless progress toward whatever level and kind of maturity his endowment will let him reach.

Furthermore, the structure we need should transcend or expand on the positive self-concept of the child. His self-image should be positive. He should never feel that he is a slow learner, a problem, dirty, or a nonreader. But more than that, the structure for learning and the sequenced experiences of good schooling should create a compelling, motivating, and realistic *future-focused role image*, the FFRI. The projected self-concept or FFRI is one in which the child has at least begun to sense the options that exist in the attractive life roles that are open to him—a self-concept which by the years of adolescence has helped to give him a sense of security based on a future that promises self-respect, dignity, an ecologically reasonable portion of the world's goods, and the realistic prospect of attaining the personal-vocational goals which are within his grasp.

The concept of a personalized curriculum, as suggested above, has distinct implications for organizational structure, beginning in the lower reaches of public education and probably extending into later maturity—literally to the seventy- or even the eighty-year-old age group. The new structure would require:

1. Far more flexibility than has characterized schooling in the twentieth century; less red tape, fewer doctrinaire attitudes in administration . . .
2. More varied and imaginative policies in staff deployment; policies that transcend the initial improvements of team teaching and lead to greater horizontal and vertical deployment of a professional, paraprofessional, and supportive professional staff . . .
3. A continuum of *schooling* intimately interlinked with *educative* input

from many sources commonly considered to be outside the boundaries of most of today's classrooms; a continuum beginning at birth and extending to the final limits of a person's ability to improve his interaction with his environment, and . . .

4. Finally, the structural matrices for uninterrupted learning would be based on what is becoming widely known as Third Force or humanistic psychology through which many men, including the late Abraham H. Maslow, have endeavored to create a new image of humankind.[4]

THE CASE FOR UNINTERRUPTED LEARNING

In some ways it is an anomaly to be writing in the 1970s about a rationale for uninterrupted learning. Parents, teachers, and virtually all adults who think about it cannot help but know that learning begins at birth and continues throughout life. Children, for instance, learn an incredible amount during every waking hour, and in a matter of days (a few weeks at most) the new baby in an American home usually has acquired an extensive repertoire of learned behavior with which he often can control the behavior of his mother and father. But when it comes to organizing our schools we are prone to ignore what we know about continuity in learning. Instead, we subject our wisdom to an incongruous respect for routines and rules, for the mass scheduling and the hourly shuffling of subjects and of children, for norms that are designed to preserve a myth—the concept of the "average" child—and to show our worship of conformity in a country which prizes atypical skills and talents in inventors, entertainers, and writers and which—ironically—was settled largely by individualists.

To emphasize the need for abandoning a nine-month year and a graded structure in favor of an unbroken educational continuum, here are the arguments:

1. Because children are conspicuously different in the rates at which they grow and mature, and because each has a unique accumulation of experiential input and self-images, schools should abandon all arbitrary measures of social and academic performance and the artificial devices that have been used to instruct children in ways of "coming up to standard."
2. Because children learn all year long, the almost universal September-

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[4] Frank Goble, *The Third Force* (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. x.

to-June school year should be junked in favor of, say, 180 to 200 in-school days of attendance spread throughout the calendar. When pupils are to be present in school should be determined by their motivation, by professional judgment, by future developments in the use of instructional media that lend themselves to home study, by family preferences or circumstances, and by economical use of the school environment.

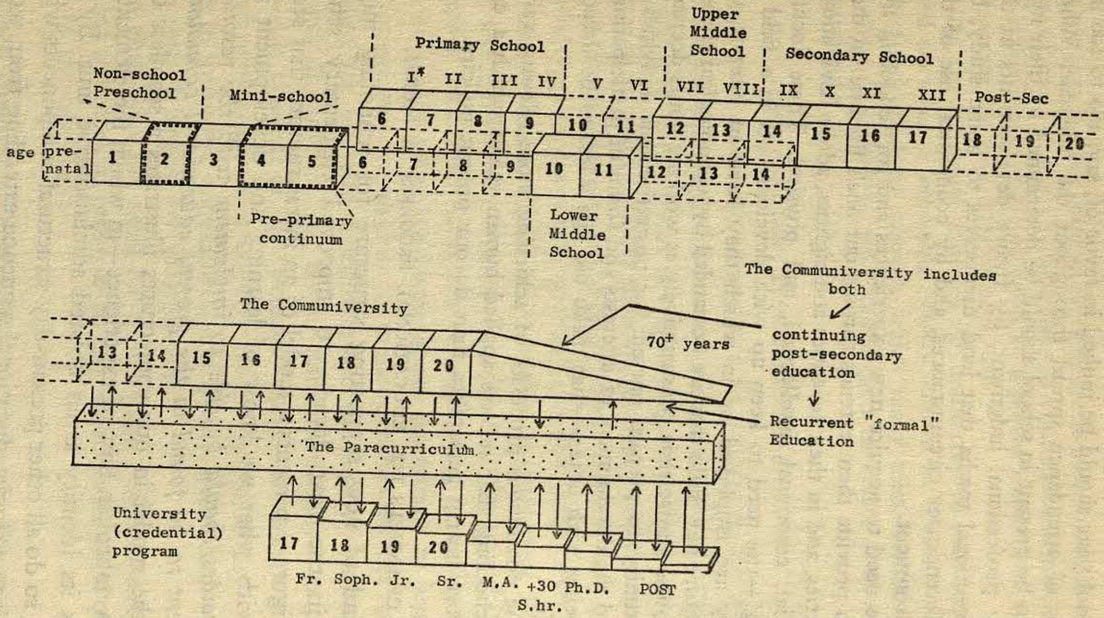
3. Because the need to acquire new experiences and for schooling that can help to provide them extends throughout one's lifetime. In their thirties, forties, and in their seventies and eighties, adults have human needs: social, emotional, intellectual, and physical. These include "retreading"—the need to keep up with developments in a field in which they are employed or in which they have an interest, the need to acquire new skills that are demanded by technological change, the need to use leisure time constructively as working hours decrease, the opportunity to prepare oneself for postretirement activities or careers, and the development of interests and forms of participation—ways of being with others—that make old age a less to be dreaded time in life.
4. Because the continuous processes of achieving more relevant values demand schooling that reflects applied human values which a continuum more nearly personifies than do our present policies.

NEW CHANNELS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS: A MODEL

What kind of new supporting structure for schooling might contribute, in the next decade, to improved elementary school practices? Figure 1 presents a model of an infrastructure that seems consistent with what we know of learning and development and *which educators should be able to implement with the resources and the talent to be found in the present educational community.* Note that the model in our conjectures illustrates a seamless curriculum—an unbroken flow of experience—in which the elementary school loses its identity as an isolated administrative unit. By the same token, so do all other present-day structural components which now blend into a single educational sequence extending from womb to tomb.

Admittedly, there is nothing that is entirely new about certain aspects of the model! However, since 1960 too many school reformers have ignored the experiences of the past. As Silberman has pointed out:

> They were . . . unaware that almost anything they said had been said



*The Roman numerals refer to grade levels in today's schools

FIG. 1. Model of a lifelong educational continuum
Source: Harold G. Shane, "The Educational Significance of the Future" (Unpublished report to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, September 1972).

before, by Dewey, Whitehead, Bode, Rugg, etc.; and they were unaware that almost everything they tried to do had been tried before, by educators like Frederick [sic] Burk, Carleton Washburne, and Helen Parkhurst, not to mention Abraham Flexner and Dewey himself.[5]

Rather than ignoring the past, the model makes use of and sometimes extends an assortment of suggestions taken from the idea-bin of U.S. education. Its intent is to cast these familiar ideas in a new configuration—to illustrate the point that we are not now teaching as well as we could teach if we made a more successful attempt to combine and to implement the better ideas to be found in the literature, in isolated pockets of practice, and in research studies.

Attention is now directed toward a scenario proposing what schooling might be like if the idea of the continuum were put into actual practice.

Educating the youngest. As suggested in the model, the child's earliest direct contacts with the educational community would begin shortly before or after his second birthday.[6] (This is the "nonschool preschool" interim in figure 1. It is labeled with a "2" to indicate that it usually would occur during the second year of life.) At this time the school would begin accurately to analyze and to store data from mental and physical examinations, information on home and family background, and the like, thus beginning computerized cumulative records for the child.

Enrollment in the minischool, as suggested in the diagram, would take place around the child's third birthday. For half-days he would be associated with six to eight other three-year-olds, participating in a program directed by a paraprofessional. The paraprofessional, along with several others located in nearby minischools, would be supervised by a credentialed and experienced teacher-consultant. The program would be educational rather than custodial, one which provided cognitive input, extended social experience, and encouraged good physical development—including preventive measures when potential problems surfaced.

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[5] Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 179.

[6] Although a seamless curriculum has, by definition, no conventional sections such as "preschool," "middle school," or "postsecondary education," these and other familiar terms are used to facilitate the description of a "learner's year-to-year progression in a continuum.

The effort to break children free of the roles into which the culture locks them in their early years continues, in our scenario, during the *preprimary component*. As shown in figure 1, this phase of schooling occurs at age four and continues for an indeterminate period as suggested by the dotted lines into which the preprimary years blend.

The precise timing of the move to the primary school would be determined not by the parameters of an academic year but by when the child was deemed ready for a new peer group. Administratively he would be transposed[7] at any time during the twelve-month year in a manner analagous to that of today's transfer pupil when his parents have moved into a new school district.

It must be reiterated for purposes of clarity that the preprimary interlude might extend from as little as one year to four or five years or even (very rarely) a sixth year. This idea is represented by the broken or ghost lines in the model. Those who were handicapped or disadvantaged thus could have additional time to mature and join a primary group when their chances of success seemed good. The very bright and socially mature child conversely could find himself translated to a primary group as early as age five. The model is intended to illustrate that the primary years, too, cover an indeterminate interim. Progress toward maturity that would qualify a learner to move into the middle-school interval could occur in from two to five years as implied by the ghost drawing of the extended primary.

As is the case at present, the primary school would be peopled by a pupil population predominantly in the six to nine age range. A scattering of five-year-olds and some learners between ten and thirteen years of age also would be in the primary. However, and this is a major point, the mental age range—the pupil performance level—need not exceed the five- to seven-year range in academic scores which may be found in a 1973 graded classroom when standardized tests are administered.

The middle school years. The model shows two middle-school divisions, both of which, when feasible, would be housed in the same school building along with the preprimary and primary. The lower and upper middle schools, as depicted here, serve a basic two-year age group, but the chronological age spread might well be five years or more. In a seamless curriculum, we repeat for emphasis, there are no promotions—only transpositions that are made at any time it becomes clear that a primary child is capable of functioning in age groups, predominantly, of nine- to twelve-year-olds in the middle school.

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[7] The term *translated* or *transposed* is used instead of *transferred* to suggest a smooth transition as distinct from the "system break" which a child often encounters in transfers or promotions in today's nine-month September-to-June school systems.

The basic ideas characterizing the primary-age clusters or pods would also be found in the middle schools. Children learn in personalized, multiage groups with the basis for grouping being common participation in a given activity, interest, or skill-development pod. Different members of the middle-school teaching partnership [8] work with children in a given learning cluster. Grouping in such a pod might last anywhere from an hour or two to several months. An ad hoc discussion might occupy an hour. Participation in a play, in a science experiment, or in a social studies project or enterprise are examples of ventures that might extend from as long as a month to a year or more.

The secondary segment: sharpening and implementing the future-focused role image. Although this chapter is dedicated to exploring possible approaches to elementary school programs of a decade hence, comment on the secondary school interval also must be examined since in the model the two flow together. What post-elementary changes does the seamless learning continuum concept demand?

While the content of present-day high school subject matter fields requires some obvious modification in a curriculum continuum, the secondary segment in the scenario is based on the assumption that secondary education in the 1980s can provide elementary students with the opportunity to extend the flow of their uninterrupted progress into early and middle adolescence. As suggested in figure 2, lifelong learning also implies learning for adults at any age—forty, sixty, or eighty—when they are motivated to draw on such community educational resources. This suggests not only a continuation of the careful personalized guidance of the elementary years but the rapid abandonment of many of the arbitrary prerequisites for admission, sequenced academic requirements, and exit regulations based on units of accumulated credit that presently are enchorial to most U.S. high schools.

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[8] "Teaching partnership" refers to a form of staff deployment that is a step beyond team teaching. A major difference resides in the increase in the horizontal and vertical spread of a given teacher's contact with age-level groups. (See figure 3.)

The paracurriculum. Time may prove that the most significant idea in figure 2 is that of the *paracurriculum*, which, as the compound word suggests, is the source of input which the community (including the world of work) can contribute to the learner's total education.[9] Embedded in the idea of the paracurriculum are (a) alternative forms of schooling, (b) the function of the community and its agencies as a nutrient form of educational media, (c) intricate vocational relationships and policies among schools, and (d) a greater role for the "real" producing world of farm, factory, and services. Inherent in the paracurriculum is shared school-community responsibility for helping children and youth sense not just *what* to see, hear, and learn in order to attain their FFRI, but *how* to do so in a context of twenty-first-century values.

Recognizing that the school provides only a modest portion of what one needs to know, the paracurriculum envisions the world of nonschool learning experiences and casts the school in the role of a participatory planner in the task of meshing school experiences smoothly with other sources of education.[10]

The enlarged model in figure 2 suggests that as early as age fourteen, sometimes a bit before, the student may choose to engage in vocational activities without attending school. This lateral shift from curriculum (the school's) to paracurriculum (in this case, early vocational participation) could be brokered through a process involving such ingredients as learner motivation, teachers' professional judgment, careful counseling, and close interaction with employers who are socially minded rather than seeking to exploit fourteen- to sixteen-year-old worker-learners. Equally important to this aspect of the paracurriculum is parental understanding, consent, and cooperation in a new phase of the child's educative experience. This approach, by the way, should appreciably diminish dropout and push-out problems since the learner does not drop out but *shifts over* (at a ninety-degree angle as shown on the model) from curricular to paracurricular learnings in a learning continuum.

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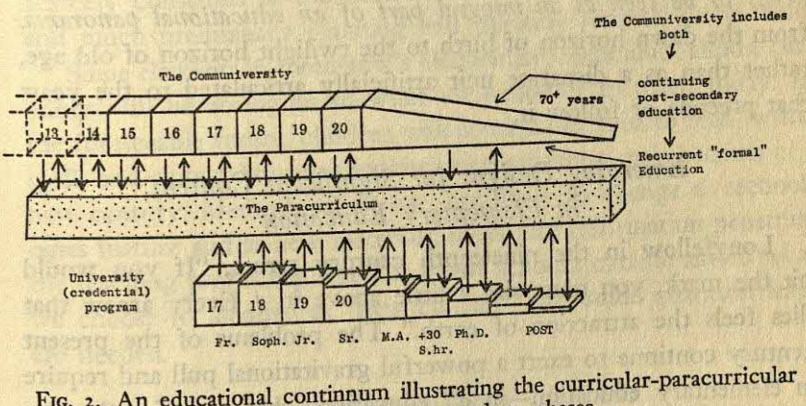
[9] The reader has no doubt been aware of the education/schooling dichotomy employed in this chapter. "Education" refers to *all* inputs assimilated by the learner which help him to develop personhood, to live maturely in his environment. "Schooling" is that component of education that is provided by the U.S. educational system in its many forms and at its many levels, a distinction made throughout the yearbook.

[10] See June G. Shane et al., *Guiding Human Development* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1971), chap. 12.

An extremely important dimension of the paracurricular concept—an indispensable one—is a lifelong exit and reentry privilege. This privilege should be meticulously respected, carefully planned, deftly guided, and carefully supervised. Also, the educational climate should be tempered to encourage lifelong return to the school as indicated by the arrows on the figure.

The years beyond. The model also visualizes today's postsecondary education—our contemporary collegiate and adult education—as becoming an uninterrupted extension of the continuum by 1986. An examination of figure 2 reveals that the postsecondary student


The Communiversity includes both
continuing post-secondary education
Recurrent "formal" Education
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POST

FIG. 2. An educational continnum illustrating the curricular-paracurricular relationship in their secondary and postsecondary phases

Source: Harold G. Shane, "The Educational Significance of the Future" (Unpublished report to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, September 1972).

has the option of simply moving into the extended matrices of tomorrow's secondary school as it blends into the communiversity. The communiversity segment is a broadened lifelong-learning institution with a cultural-vocational-recreational "mix" of offerings.

The emphasis here is on higher education designed to meet an array of human needs, to satisfy aspirations, and to mesh with the learner's patterns of motivation at any age throughout life.[11] In fine, the communiversity is a source of lifelong postsecondary education, not merely a part of higher education as are most contemporary colleges and universities.

The role of the university in a highly credentialed society is suggested at the bottom of the model where a program in higher education for the 1980s retains some familiar aspects. Here the teacher, the doctor and dentist, the nurse, the architect or engineer, the lawyer or administrator would establish his qualifications as a professional. Liberal arts programs, the sciences, and so on, presumably would be offered both in the lifelong communiversity matrices and in the credential-focused professional school programs.

Since postelementary education is not our focus, the potentially exciting interrelationships in a seamless curriculum cannot properly be probed further here. But the point is made. Like the organic human being who is all of one piece—intellectually, emotionally, physically, and socially—so the continuum of learning as described here is all of one piece, *and the elementary school of the 1980s needs to be seen as an integral part of an educational panorama,* from the dawn horizon of birth to the twilight horizon of old age, rather than as a disparate unit artificially articulated to the years that precede or follow it.

Emerging Designs for Significant Content in Elementary Education

Longfellow in the nineteenth century wrote, "If you would hit the mark, you must aim a little above it; / Every arrow that flies feels the attraction of earth." The problems of the present century continue to exert a powerful gravitational pull and require in elementary education—in *all* education—that we raise the rim of our vision and aim at something higher than the goal of merely extricating ourselves from the mire of the present. As was noted earlier, content in U.S. schools for the 1980s requires more than a repair job on the subject matter that was partly overhauled or reformed in the 1960s.[12]

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[11] John Bowers et al., "The Communiversity," lithographed (Bloomington, Ind.: School of Education, Indiana University, n.d.). Available through Amos Patterson, Indiana University.

THE PAST NO LONGER CHARTS THE FUTURE

Once, the past was precedent, a guide to human conduct and to policies that were intended to preserve a "good" future both in the world of living men and in the City of God for all eternity. Because of the crisis of transition, already described, humankind on the threshold of a third millenium is striving to cope with problems such as pollution and overpopulation that we are only beginning really to understand. Because of our imperfect vision, there is a need to keep the future "open" and viable to the extent that present wisdom allows us to do so.

The creation of an open future—one in which we retain our options—depends to a considerable extent on our skill in helping the young to learn how to educate themselves—how to *see* rather than to look, how to *understand* rather than just to hear, how to *attack* and attempt to *solve* rather than merely to observe and to contemplate the problems of our species. Until the 1970s we were scarcely conscious of the need for this kind of educational input and much preliminary planning and thinking remains to be done.

Some elements in tomorrow's elementary curriculum almost certainly will be analogous to what we endeavor to teach today. In the foreseeable future, children will continue to need to read, write, spell, and cipher, however sophisticated machines may become in a new century. Methods, of course, are likely to change as technologies mature and as new materials, ideas, and information penetrate the teaching profession. But it is in the school's climate and in what we choose to identify as "new content" that some quantum leaps are needed.

SPECULATIONS AS TO "NEW" CONTENT

The climate in the elementary school already is changing. It is becoming more redolent of blended inquiry and of humanism, although one must look carefully to see the tokens of change. Once almost entirely didactic in nature (dedicated to teaching by precept), elementary education has moved a bit in the direction of heuristic (using the discovery method) theory during the past ten or twelve years, although much didacticism lingers. Most recently, theory has been further tinctured by the humanism or neoprogressivism of the group Van Til has dubbed "compassionate critics" of education.[13] Hopefully, from a balanced synthesis of all three—telling, discovering, and humanizing—should come some of the virtues, each minus certain deficiencies which the critics of each of the three positions have identified.

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[12] Possible changes in teacher preparation are briefly discussed and portrayed in a model in Robert H. Anderson and Harold G. Shane, "Implications of Early Childhood Education for Lifelong Learning," in *Early Childhood Education*, Seventy-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 384-88.

In this context of new educational "mixes," what new content emphases and new general input can be anticipated between the present time and the year 1986? As we have said under the preceding paragraph heading, the projected changes are *speculative.* At the same time, they recognize the views of behavioral, social, and physical scientists who have become engaged in futures research during the past decade or two. In other words, the points that follow take account of these scientists' plausible estimates of *needed* changes in content that seem both probable and desirable as men utilize schooling to reduce and eventually eliminate the chaos and value crisis created by the "premature arrival of the future"—by more technosocial changes in fifty years than in the preceding five hundred centuries.[14]

As to the nature of content and different emphases in contemporary content, some of it may cluster around new approaches to an understanding of:

Mass media. We should find the elementary school taking more deliberate and methodical steps to help young learners begin to cope with the power of TV and radio which literally cannot portray things the way they really are despite a well-known commentator's contrary tag line. Frequently they present to their audiences the words of a man reading a script prepared by a person who may have edited or adapted the ideas of cameramen and reporters more for purposes of a high audience-rating than for honoring "truth" if truth tends to be less interesting and less dramatic than a spiced-up and spliced-in presentation. (The postelementary curriculum also must begin more frankly to face ways of helping learners understand the moral problems and possible civil dangers in so-called mind control based on chemical or electrial means.)

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[13] See William Van Til, ed., *Curriculum: Quest for Relevance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1971), pp. 9-92. Among the "compassionate critics" are Silberman, Hentoff, Kozol, Herndon, Holt, and so on.

[14] It is from the writer's visits (1971-72) to futures research centers that much of this concluding section of the yearbook is drawn. For details of the study see chap. 2, "U.S. Futures Research in Education: The Status of the Field in 1972," in *The Potential of Educational Futures*, ed. Michael Marien and Warren Z. Ziegler, prepared for the NSSE paperback series, *Contemporary Educational Issues* (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., 1972).

Population increase. It seems almost inevitable that at all educational levels more powerful efforts will be made to sensitize children and youth to the clear and present danger in unrestricted breeding. While estimates vary as to the time at which overpopulation could assume catastrophic proportions, the signs indicating that we are on a collision course are abundant.

Unrecognized rejection of democracy. The schools may begin to face more frankly the fact that, judging by overt evidence, most Americans reject an egalitarian society—all of our slogans notwithstanding. We have no coping doctrine to permit us to handle the problem and usually we ignore it. The comments of our friends and neighbors, our literature, and our colleagues or business associates readily confirm that many citizens conceive of democracy as a form of social organization in which they have a chance to attain equality with the top 10 percent—as a medium that permits and sometimes encourages inequity. Thus far democracy, as interpreted by United States ground rules, has flourished on compromises, political ingenuity, and the ability of the United States to accommodate itself to the upward mobility of many persons and groups. Education now needs to begin to reverse the folklore of Horatio Alger, to discourage the misleading dream that every American has the opportunity to reach the highest stations in life.The emphasis should shift from Alger's "luck and pluck" tales to a clearer understanding of the meaning of equity and how we can approach equity through democracy.

Defense of the biosphere. It is too early to predict whether the world's present signs of material prosperity—automobiles, varied foods, air-conditioners, private swimming pools, and other creature comforts—are a tragic mask hiding for the moment what may prove to be irreversible damage. Although experts vary as to the imminence of our danger, there is no doubt that the environmental crisis has been deepening. It is highly likely, therefore, that elementary education will begin to reflect the import of Commoner's point that:

> Since the environmental crisis is the result of the social mismanagement of the world's resources . . . it can be resolved and man can survive in a humane condition when the social organization of man is brought into harmony with the ecosphere.[15]

The reaction of the elementary school, if the reaction is an insightful one, will not be based upon precept but on practices which reflect new ecological understandings that will be less harmful to our physical natural environment. This implies heavier stress on conserving materials—using them, making them do, wearing them out—as distinct from our previous happy and short-sighted participation in the practices of what Toffler called our throw-away society. To phrase it succinctly, wise approaches to the defense of the biosphere need to be made a way of life in our schools.

Modification of our propensity for using technology naïvely. What can be done and what probably should be done at the elementary school level with respect to man's puerile use of technology poses a major challenge.[16] While technology is a reliable ally which we very much need to attack environmental problems, education at every level needs to assume responsibility for developing insights into how to make our machines both more helpful and less threatening.

Reducing past emphasis on the importance of consumer goods. In the past, education in the United States has directly and indirectly attached too much importance to the accumulation of material possessions. Though lip service was given to the virtues of Father Damien, and while the frugal life of the frontier was extolled, the good Father had few if any emulators and there probably never was a

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15. Commoner, op. cit., p. 299.

16. The dimensions of the problem are lucidly presented by Commoner, op. cit., chap. 9, in which he discusses recent decades in which ". . . productive technologies with intense impacts on the environment have replaced less destructive ones" (p. 177).

poor man who saw any merit in the frugality that his poverty forced upon him.

Without belittling the merits of human comfort and welfare, educators need to recognize the limits of growth and, as Ward and Dubos put it, what they imply for "the care and maintenance of a small planet."[17] That is, schooling should begin to reduce the culture's misplaced confidence in the relationship between acquiring material goods and the attainment of "success," "happiness," or "importance." After all, any society can develop dry rot if the subsystems of which it is composed have neither transcendent aims nor goals other than their further enhancement. Overemphasis on the obsessive pursuit and acquisition of material goods not only threatens the world's resources, it leaves the deeper needs and longings of human beings unsatisfied. We need content in elementary schooling which is less thing-centered and more centered on the importance of people.

A new source of disciplined direction within the individual. Any genuine and lasting progress that the elementary school may make in communicating the body of insights and attitudes that are described in the foregoing paragraphs probably will depend on Americans regaining a measure of the social discipline that gave Western man his sense of direction for thousands of years past but without authoritarian thumbscrews or ecclesiastical autos-da-fé. Although the names of knaves and rascals are well known to the pages of history, most men and women for two thousand years past nonetheless were able to develop slowly improving patterns of culture because they were disciplined by force, tradition, and the church. Beginning in the medieval era, a person was indoctrinated in his role, his rights, and especially how he might earn a place in Heaven. Today, we lack such imposed micrometric knowledge and must find within ourselves rather than through imposed authority the security of knowing what and whom we are.

Although vestiges of social class are still widespread, in the last two hundred and fifty years democracy has weakened authoritarian force, industrialization has upset tradition, and science has cooled the fires of Dante's Hell. After studying the situation, one team of futures research specialists forecast that at least until the year 2000 there would continue to be a trend toward the "empirical, this-worldly, secular, humanistic, pragmatic, utilitarian, contractual, epicurian or hedonistic."[18] Alas, in moving from a fixed world of certainties into a world of materialism, increment, and change, many Americans appear to have become confused and lack direction—at least partly because they have lost both their fear of hell and their hope of heaven.

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[17] Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, *Only One Earth* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972).

One of the functions of new content, one of the great tasks of schooling beginning with education of the youngest, is to identify input or content, *in the broadest meaning of these terms*, in ways that will serve as a source of direction that is congruent with changes of the last fifty years. It would be both presumptuous and unworkable for educators to attempt by themselves to decide from whence a new sense of direction shall come. At the same time, it is essential that they exert every possible reasonable pressure on the culture and its social institutions to move forward in the quest for an emerging series of decisions as to the image and nature of the values that should characterize the educated man and woman.

Let us examine this point in a context of accountability. Earlier, say in 1873—a century ago—the *community* held itself accountable for education. Then the testing movement of the 1920s made the *child* accountable. By the 1960s there began to be pressure to make the *school* (i.e., the teacher) accountable. Now, in the 1970s, a balance among all three forms of accountability seems in order!

The school can become "accountable" only when the culture reaffirms what is "good" education. (Is good education teaching facts didactically? Is it a humanistic approach to selfhood or personhood that is distinguished by a satisfying self-concept and a motivating future-focused role image? Or is it to be found somewhere between the two extremes?) With these queries answered, there is a genuine basic criterion for identifying the *community's* responsibility in supporting the school, the *teacher's* accountability for competence in instruction, and the *child's* accountability both to himself and to society for performance in a personalized educational continuum.

[18] Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener, *The Year 2000* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 7.

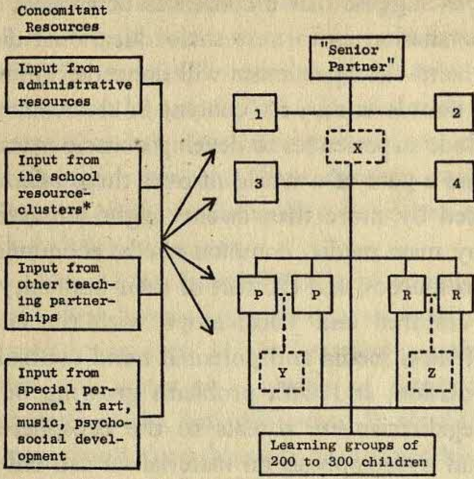
Omens in the early 1970s suggest that a consensus or at least a workable community of persuasion as to new socioeducational directions may be nearer at hand than pessimists will concede. Quite possibly before the present decade ends, new content in elementary education will begin to include experiences to develop consciousness of what it really means to be a part of a world of over three billion humans, individuals separated by more than twenty-eight hundred languages but interlinked by mass media, common needs, economic factors, the distribution of resources, and the fact of their humanity.

New content to help children and youth cope with the environmental intervention of mass media and potential mind control, with problems of overpopulation, and with problems growing out of the tacit rejection of egalitarianism, threats to the ecosphere, naïve use of technology, and overemphasis on materialism can only be dispensed (in the next decade at least) through the human and material resources of the present educational community. There is reason to believe that such new content will permeate the schools because it already is doing so as the teaching profession begins to adopt and to adapt what were once labeled the educational "heresies" of Theodore Brameld or George Counts, and the more recent "educational blasphemies" of the neoprogressives and counterculture insurgents.

STAFF DEPLOYMENT FOR THE 1980S

Coming changes in the infrastructure of the elementary school and new approaches made to content seem certain to lead toward further departures from the traditional self-contained classroom in which children spend most of the day as the charges of but one teacher. Also, among likely alternative educational futures is that team teaching will go through important evolutionary changes as it becomes more widespread. Trends toward the increased employment of teacher aides or paraprofessionals suggest that much greater use will be made of differentiated staffing in the years immediately ahead.

Figure 3 suggests how current staff assignment practices could, say between 1975 and 1980, develop into teaching partnerships. Such partnerships would appear (a) to have the virtue of economy, (b) to set free more varied human resources, (c) to encourage more


Concomitant Resources
Input from administrative resources
Input from the school resource-clusters*
Input from other teaching partnerships
Input from special personnel in art, music, psychosocial development
"Senior Partner"
1
2
X
3
4
P
P
R
R
Y
Z
Learning groups of 200 to 300 children

CHARACTERISTICS

1. Flexible teaching partnerships
2. A seamless curriculum continuum
3. Variable professional responsibilities
4. Shared contacts with several learning groups
5. Personalized instruction
6. 12-month "overstaffing"
7. Principal "teams"
8. Individually variable school year
9. Increased use of paraprofessionals (P) and residents (R)
10. Academic balance among partners
11. "Open-school" concept
12. "Fail-safe" guidance

* Resource-cluster components include: (1) a guidance center, (2) computer facilities, (3) materials development staff, (4) instructional systems-technology cadre, (5) biochemeducationists, (6) Human Relations Center, (7) Self-Realization (tutorial) Center, (8) Evaluation-assessment and Performance Analysis Center

FIG. 3. Model of the teaching partnership and its associated support systems

Source: Harold G. Shane, "The Educational Significance of the Future" (Unpublished report to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, September 1972).

versatile use of these resources, and (d) to lead to more functional teacher preparation through the "residency" proposed for beginning faculty members.[19] In particular, the partnership approach has the merit of providing a means of making it possible to carry out the idea of a seamless curriculum continuum.

Basic members of the partnership include a mature, highly prepared person as "senior partner," certificated teachers in the positions numbered 1 to 4 and in the "X" area bounded by broken lines. Paraprofessionals (P), also in box Y, and residents (R), also in box Z, complete the basic group of twelve persons working with from two to three hundred children. This is an adult-to-child ratio that varies between one to sixteen and one to twenty-four. Residents are fully qualified beginning teachers and are paid scheduled salaries. The school and the university share responsibility for phasing them into their work. They also could be either former teachers returning after some years of absence to resume their role or persons leaving self-contained classrooms to acquire a first-hand contact with a partnership group.

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[19] See Anderson and Shane, op. cit., pp. 386-87.

Since the continuum school would operate on a twelve-month basis, it would employ during this annual interval a larger number of teachers than are actually on duty at a given time. Absentees are represented by teacher X, paraprofessional Y, and resident Z, who are enclosed in phantom boxes to indicate that they are not among the nine persons who comprise the partnership at a given time. Teacher X might either be on vacation, engaged in professional study, or preparing curriculum materials. He would be away from the group approximately ninety days per year. One paraprofessional and one resident would also be off-duty at any given time.

The partnership approach should encourage teachers in the four numbered squares of the model to develop special abilities on which they draw in fields such as science, guidance, or the language arts. It also should be flexible with respect to time schedules and assignments so as to allow greater horizontal and vertical use of human resources. "Horizontal" deployment refers to work in a variety of roles with children in the partnership. "Vertical" refers to work with age groups above or below the age level of the "pod" of youngsters with which the partnership is concerned.

To illustrate, let us assume that the senior partner in the model is a specialist in early childhood. In addition to coordinating a primary-level partnership, this senior staff member might spend a part of each week working with the paraprofessionals who are employed to serve three-year-olds at the minischool level shown in figure 1. To use another example, the teacher represented by box 3 could teach a once-a-week class for adults in the communiversity segment of the continuum. Possibilities of this sort are almost infinite and provide the variety and the challenge that are needed to keep teachers from falling into a rut.

Twelve elements or concepts related to the partnership appear in the right-hand column. The "concomitant resources" listed at the left-hand side suggest how, within the decade, more schools may choose to work out ways of linking the school's various support systems (administration, special personnel, etc.) more closely to the partnership.

Although pages of conjecture and theory might be written about the possible evolution of team teaching in the direction of the more versatile partnership, the main point has been made: as education becomes a carefully planned lifelong flow of learning experience, creative adaptations of teaching assignments will become an integral part of the organizational infrastructure and of new classroom input.

Concluding Statement

BETWEEN PENICILLIN AND ARMAGEDDON

At present, the United States stands at a lonely juncture in history midway between penicillin and either Armageddon or a better, more humane world. By the end of the next hundred years, civilization, as of 1973, can either become one of the more spectacular fossils on the earth's surface or emerge as an example of social achievement second only to the chiliastic dreams of the past two millenia. One of the great prerequisites for successful elementary schooling—and for all education in every form in this country—therefore becomes that of providing the kind of input that will help insure the prospect of humankind's survival as *humans* rather than as a *species*.

With this portentous responsibility, education's task is cosmological but not impossible: to stretch the minds and beliefs of children so that they can live with information overload and with complex problems that no other nation has faced in their present pernicious forms. This cannot be accomplished just by imprinting them with arbitrary answers or loading them with the ice and stone of academic skills and information from the past. As Goodlad implied in our opening chapter, it involves socialization through new, personalized approaches to education, finding for ourselves and with the young, new goals that are shaped by reexamined values—values born of a fifty-year crisis of transition that will give us the positive beliefs without which, as Nietzsche once wrote in his *Joyful Wisdom*, we lose our knowledge of both good and evil.

In this spirit, this chapter has endeavored to build on the vision and wisdom of earlier sections of the yearbook. It has sought to support the idea that elementary schooling has the power and that there is still the time and the resources needed to create a lifetime continuum of educational opportunity. It does not, however, predict the future of the elementary school as an astronomer predicts an eclipse. Able futurists recognize that *the future does not reside in the present.* Rather, *it lies in our choices among possible alternative futures* and our use of time, energy, and money to bring about the changes we covet. Hence, our scenarios and models are intended as stimulants to encourage change rather than as prescriptions for improving the health of the educational community.

With open minds and with reasonable luck, thoughtful Americans should be able to reach a consensus as to "good" schooling and make faster progress toward many of the goals that we are even now gingerly approaching. As this happens, we have every chance of passing Orwell's 1984 deadline for disaster and of attaining by 1985 a seamless learning continuum which includes an elementary education that is *really* better than the one provided by today's schools which all too often—like ignominious anthills—are busy imprinting the young with the ritualized activities and functions of the past.

[illegible] of [illegible] and opportunity [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] the present [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] money to [illegible] about the changes we covet. Hence, our scenarios [illegible] are intended as stimulants to encourage change rather than as prescriptions for improving the quality of the educational community.

With open minds and with reasonable luck, thoughtful Americans should be able to reach a consensus as to "good" schooling and undertake [illegible] of the goals that we are [illegible] [illegible] learning environment [illegible] education [illegible] than the one provided by [illegible] with the [illegible] communities in past.

[illegible] information [illegible] accomplished [illegible] information from the past [illegible] Nietzsche once wrote in his [illegible] of both good and evil.

[illegible]

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF
THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

(As adopted May, 1944, and amended June, 1945, February, 1949, September, 1962 and February, 1968)

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this corporation shall be "The National Society for the Study of Education," an Illinois corporation not for profit.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSES

Its purposes are to carry on the investigation of educational problems, to publish the results of same, and to promote their discussion.

The corporation also has such powers as are now, or may hereafter be, granted by the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of the State of Illinois.

ARTICLE III

OFFICES

The corporation shall have and continuously maintain in this state a registered office and a registered agent whose office is identical with such registered office, and may have other offices within or without the State of Illinois as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine.

ARTICLE IV

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. *Classes.* There shall be two classes of members—active and honorary. The qualifications and rights of the members of such classes shall be as follows:

(*a*) Any person who is desirous of promoting the purposes of this corporation is eligible to active membership and shall become such on payment of dues as prescribed.

(*b*) Active members shall be entitled to vote, to participate in discussion, and, subject to the conditions set forth in Article V, to hold office.

(*c*) Honorary members shall be entitled to all the privileges of active members, with the exception of voting and holding office, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues. A person may be elected to honorary membership by vote of the active members of the corporation on nomination by the Board of Directors.

(*d*) Any active member of the Society may, at any time after reaching the age of sixty, become a life member on payment of the aggregate amount of the regular annual dues for the period of life expectancy, as determined by standard actuarial tables, such membership to entitle the member to receive all yearbooks and to enjoy all other privileges of active membership in the Society for the lifetime of the member.

Section 2. *Termination of Membership.*

(*a*) The Board of Directors by affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the Board may suspend or expel a member for cause after appropriate hearing.

(*b*) Termination of membership for nonpayment of dues shall become effective as provided in Article XIV.

Section 3. *Reinstatement.* The Board of Directors may by the affirmation vote of two-thirds of the members of the Board reinstate a former member whose membership was previously terminated for cause other than nonpayment of dues.

Section 4. *Transfer of Membership.* Membership in this corporation is not transferable or assignable.

ARTICLE V

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. *General Powers.* The business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed by its Board of Directors. It shall appoint the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Secretary-Treasurer, and Members of the Council. It may appoint a member to fill any vacancy on the Board until such vacancy shall have been filled by election as provided in Section 3 of this Article.

Section 2. *Number, Tenure, and Qualifications.* The Board of Directors shall consist of seven members, namely, six to be elected by the members of the corporation, and the Secretary-Treasurer to be the seventh member. Only active members who have contributed to the Yearbook shall be eligible for election to serve as directors. A member who has been elected for a full term of three years as director and has not attended at least two-thirds of the meetings duly called and held during that term shall not be eligible for election again before the fifth annual election after the expiration of the term for which he was first elected. No member who has been elected for two full terms as director in immediate succession shall be elected a director for a term next succeeding. This provision shall not apply to the Secretary-Treasurer who is appointed by the Board of Directors. Each director shall hold office for the term for which he is elected or appointed and until his successor shall have been selected and qualified. Directors need not be residents of Illinois.

Section 3. *Election.*

(*a*) The directors named in the Articles of Incorporation shall hold office until their successors shall have been duly selected and shall have qualified. Thereafter, two directors shall be elected annually to serve three years, beginning March first after their election. If, at the time of any annual election, a vacancy exists in the Board of Directors, a director shall be elected at such election to fill such vacancy.

(*b*) Elections of directors shall be held by ballots sent by United States mail as follows: A nominating ballot together with a list of members eligible to be directors shall be mailed by the Secretary-Treasurer to all active members of the corporation in October. From such list, the active members shall nominate on such ballot one eligible member for each of the two regular terms and for any vacancy to be filled and return such ballots to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after said date of mailing by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare an election ballot and place thereon in alphabetical order the names of persons equal to three times the number of offices to be filled, these persons to be those who received the highest number of votes on the nominating ballot, provided, however, that not more than one person connected with a given institution or agency shall be named on such final ballot, the person so named to be the one receiving the highest vote on the nominating ballot. Such election ballot shall be mailed by the Secretary-Treasurer to all active members in November next succeeding. The active members shall vote thereon for one member for each such office. Election ballots must be in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after the said date of mailing by the Secretary-Treasurer. The ballots shall be counted by the Secretary-Treasurer, or by an election committee, if any, appointed by the Board. The two members receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected for the regular term and the member or members receiving the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected for any vacancy or vacancies to be filled.

Section 4. *Regular Meetings.* A regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held, without other notice than this by-law, at the same place and as nearly as possible on the same date as the annual meeting of the corporation. The Board of Directors may provide the time and place, either within or without the State of Illinois, for the holding of additional regular meetings of the Board.

Section 5. *Special Meetings.* Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by or at the request of the Chairman or a majority of the directors. Such special meetings shall be held at the office of the corporation unless a majority of the directors agree upon a different place for such meetings.

Section 6. *Notice*. Notice of any special meeting of the Board of Directors shall be given at least fifteen days previously thereto by written notice delivered personally or mailed to each director at his business address, or by telegram. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail in a sealed envelope so addressed, with postage thereon prepaid. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company. Any director may waive notice of any meeting. The attendance of a director at any meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting, except where a director attends a meeting for the express purpose of objecting to the transaction of any business because the meeting is not lawfully called or convened. Neither the business to be transacted at, nor the purpose of, any regular or special meeting of the Board need be specified in the notice or waiver of notice of such meeting.

Section 7. *Quorum*. A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board, provided, that if less than a majority of the directors are present at said meeting, a majority of the directors present may adjourn the meeting from time to time without further notice.

Section 8. *Manner of Acting*. The act of the majority of the directors present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the act of the Board of Directors, except where otherwise provided by law or by these by-laws.

ARTICLE VI

THE COUNCIL

Section 1. *Appointment*. The Council shall consist of the Board of Directors, the Chairmen of the corporation's Yearbook and Research Committees, and such other active members of the corporation as the Board of Directors may appoint.

Section 2. *Duties*. The duties of the Council shall be to further the objects of the corporation by assisting the Board of Directors in planning and carrying forward the educational undertakings of the corporation.

ARTICLE VII

OFFICERS

Section 1. *Officers*. The officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board of Directors, a Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors, and a Secretary-Treasurer. The Board of Directors, by resolution, may create additional offices. Any two or more offices may be held by the same person, except the offices of Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. *Election and Term of Office.* The officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the annual regular meeting of the Board of Directors, provided, however, that the Secretary-Treasurer may be elected for a term longer than one year. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as conveniently may be. Vacancies may be filled or new offices created and filled at any meeting of the Board of Directors. Each officer shall hold office until his successor shall have been duly elected and shall have qualified or until his death or until he shall resign or shall have been removed in the manner hereinafter provided.

Section 3. *Removal.* Any officer or agent elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed by the Board of Directors whenever in its judgment the best interests of the corporation would be served thereby, but such removal shall be without prejudice to the contract rights, if any, of the person so removed.

Section 4. *Chairman of the Board of Directors.* The Chairman of the Board of Directors shall be the principal officer of the corporation. He shall preside at all meetings of the members of the Board of Directors, shall perform all duties incident to the office of chairman of the Board of Directors and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors from time to time.

Section 5. *Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors.* In the absence of the Chairman of the Board of Directors or in the event of his inability or refusal to act, the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform the duties of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, and when so acting, shall have all the powers of and be subject to all the restrictions upon the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Any Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 6. *Secretary-Treasurer.* The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the managing executive officer of the corporation. He shall: (*a*) keep the minutes of the meetings of the members and of the Board of Directors in one or more books provided for that purpose; (*b*) see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws or as required by law; (*c*) be custodian of the corporate records and of the seal of the corporation and see that the seal of the corporation is affixed to all documents, the execution of which on behalf of the corporation under its seal is duly authorized in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws; (*d*) keep a register of the postoffice address of each member as furnished to the secretary-treasurer by such member; (*e*) in general perform all duties incident to the office of secretary and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or by the Board of Directors. He shall also: (1) have charge and custody of and be responsible for all funds and securities of the corporation; receive and give receipts for moneys due and payable to the corporation from any source whatsoever, and deposit all such moneys in the name of the corporation in such banks, trust companies or other depositories as shall be selected in accordance with the provisions of Article XI of these by-laws; (2) in general perform all the duties incident to the office of Treasurer and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or by the Board of Directors. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties in such sum and with such surety or sureties as the Board of Directors shall determine, said bond to be placed in the custody of the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

COMMITTEES

The Board of Directors, by appropriate resolution duly passed, may create and appoint such committees for such purposes and periods of time as it may deem advisable.

ARTICLE IX

PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The corporation shall publish *The Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, such supplements thereto, and such other materials as the Board of Directors may provide for.

Section 2. *Names of Members.* The names of the active and honorary members shall be printed in the Yearbook or, at the direction of the Board of Directors, may be published in a special list.

ARTICLE X

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The corporation shall hold its annual meetings at the time and place of the Annual Meeting of the American Association of School Administrators of the National Education Association. Other meetings may be held when authorized by the corporation or by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE XI

CONTRACTS, CHECKS, DEPOSITS, AND GIFTS

Section 1. *Contracts.* The Board of Directors may authorize any officer or officers, agent or agents of the corporation, in addition to the officers so authorized by these by-laws to enter into any contract or execute and deliver any instrument in the name of and on behalf of the corporation and such authority may be general or confined to specific instances.

Section. 2. *Checks, drafts, etc.* All checks, drafts, or other orders for the payment of money, notes, or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the corporation, shall be signed by such officer or officers, agent or agents of the corporation and in such manner as shall from time to time be determined by resolution of the Board of Directors. In the absence of such determination of the Board of Directors, such instruments shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 3. *Deposits.* All funds of the corporation shall be deposited from time to time to the credit of the corporation in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as the Board of Directors may select.

Section 4. *Gifts.* The Board of Directors may accept on behalf of the corporation any contribution, gift, bequest, or device for the general purposes or for any special purpose of the corporation.

Section 5. *Dissolution.* In case of dissolution of the National Society for the Study of Education (incorporated under the GENERAL NOT FOR PROFIT CORPORATION ACT of the State of Illinois), the Board of Directors shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all liabilities of the Corporation, dispose of all assets of the Corporation to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under Section 561 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Internal Revenue Law), as the Board of Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE XII

BOOKS AND RECORDS

The corporation shall keep correct and complete books and records of account and shall also keep minutes of the proceedings of its members, Board of Directors, and committees having any of the authority of the Board of Directors, and shall keep at the registered or principal office a record giving the names and addresses of the members entitled to vote. All books and records of the corporation may be inspected by any member or his agent or attorney for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

ARTICLE XIII

FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal year of the corporation shall begin on the first day of July in each year and end on the last day of June of the following year.

ARTICLE XIV

DUES

Section 1. *Annual Dues.* The annual dues for active members of the Society shall be determined by vote of the Board of Directors at a regular meeting duly called and held.

Section 2. *Election Fee.* An election fee of $1.00 shall be paid in advance by each applicant for active membership.

Section 3. *Payment of Dues.* Dues for each calendar year shall be payable in advance on or before the first day of January of that year. Notice of dues for the ensuing year shall be mailed to members at the time set for mailing the primary ballots.

Section 4. *Default and Termination of Membership.* Annual membership shall terminate automatically for those members whose dues remain unpaid after the first day of January of each year. Members so in default will be reinstated on payment of the annual dues plus a reinstatement fee of fifty cents.

ARTICLE XV

SEAL

The Board of Directors shall provide a corporate seal which shall be in the form of a circle and shall have inscribed thereon the name of the corporation and the words "Corporate Seal, Illinois."

ARTICLE XVI

WAIVER OF NOTICE

Whenever any notice whatever is required to be given under the provision of the General Not For Profit Corporation Act of Illinois or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation or the by-laws of the corporation, a waiver thereof in writing signed by the person or persons entitled to such notice, whether before or after the time stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

ARTICLE XVII

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. *Amendments by Directors.* The constitution and by-laws may be altered or amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors duly called and held, provided that affirmative vote of at least five directors shall be required for such action.

Section 2. *Amendments by Members.* By petition of twenty-five or more active members duly filed with the Secretary-Treasurer, a proposal to amend the constitution and by-laws shall be submitted to all active members by United States mail together with ballots on which the members shall vote for or against the proposal. Such ballots shall be returned by United States mail to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer within twenty-one days after date of mailing of the proposal and ballots by the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer or a committee appointed by the Board of Directors for that purpose shall count the ballots and advise the members of the result. A vote in favor of such proposal by two-thirds of the members voting thereon shall be required for adoption of such amendment.

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

In 1972, meetings of the Society were held in Atlantic City, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco. These meetings were devoted to the presentation of the two parts of the seventy-first yearbook.

Part I

Part I (*Philosophical Redirection of Educational Research*) was presented twice:

1. In San Francisco on March 26 at a meeting sponsored by the Philosophy of Education Society:

Presentor: D. Bob Gowin, Professor of Education, Cornell University.

Reactors: Gary D. Fenstermacher, Assistant Professor, University of California at Los Angeles; Brian Crittenden, Associate Professor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; Jonas F. Soltis, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University.

2. In Chicago on April 14 at a meeting sponsored by the American Educational Research Association:

Presentor: D. Bob Gowin, Professor of Education, Cornell University.

Reactors: Harold B. Dunkel, Professor of Education, University of Chicago; Philip W. Jackson, Professor of Education and Director, Pre-Collegiate Education, University of Chicago.

Part II

Part II (*Early Childhood Education*) was also presented twice:

1. In Atlantic City on February 13 at a meeting cosponsored by the American Association of School Administrators:

Presiding: Harold G. Shane, of the NSSE Board of Directors and University Professor of Education, Indiana University.

Presentor: Ira J. Gordon, Chairman of the Yearbook Committee and Director, Institute for the Development of Human Resources and Professor of Education, University of Florida.

Reactors: John E. Dopyera, Assistant Professor of Education, Syracuse University; the Honorable Wilson Riles, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Education (California).

2. In Denver on April 5 at a meeting of the Association for Childhood Education International:

The yearbook was presented at a general meeting by Ira J. Gordon, Chairman of the Yearbook Committee and Director, Institute for the Development of Human Resources and Professor of Education, University of Florida.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1972

I. Meeting of February 25-26, 1972

The Board of Directors of the National Society met at 7:30 P.M. *on* Friday, February 25, and at 9:00 A.M. on February 26 in the Conrad Hilton Hotel (Chicago) with the following members present: Miss Chall and Messrs. Gage (Chairman), Goodlad, Havighurst, Shane, Tyler, and Richey (Secretary). Mr. Rehage attended the meeting of February 26.

1. The Secretary presented reports on membership, income, expenditures, and costs for the first six months of the fiscal year.

2. The Secretary reported that the Spencer Foundation had paid $6800 to the University of California at Los Angeles for the support of a workshop to be conducted by the National Society under the direction of Dr. C. Wayne Gordon.

3. The Secretary reported that under the will of Ruth Strang, the Society will receive one-twelfth of her residual estate.

4. The Secretary reported that the autumn balloting had resulted in the reelection of N. L. Gage and Harold G. Shane to the Board of Directors for a period of three years, beginning March 1, 1972.

5. Officers of the Board of Directors for the year beginning March 1, 1972, were elected as follows: John I. Goodlad, Chairman; Jeanne Chall, Vice-Chairman.

6. Progress reports were presented on authorized yearbooks—*Behavior Modification, Elementary Education in the United States, Communication, The Sociology of Education, and Teacher Education.*

7. The Board approved the publication of a yearbook on adolescence and authorized Mr. Havighurst to take the steps necessary for cooperation with the National Association of School Principals and for the preparation of the yearbook, to be published in 1975.

8. Mr. Goodlad reported on his examination of the topic, Nature and Nurture Issues. It was agreed that Jeanne Chall should report at the next meeting on the feasibility and desirability of bringing out a yearbook on these issues as they relate to school practice.

9. Mr. Gage presented a proposal for a yearbook on the psychology of teaching methods. The Board approved the proposal for the yearbook, to be published not later than 1976.

10. Mr. Goodlad presented a memorandum on planning educational change. The Board asked Mr. Goodlad to continue his study of the subject and to report on it at the September meeting.

11. Mr. Tyler suggested that the Board give thought to a possible yearbook on testing. The Board asked Mr. Tyler to lead a discussion on the topic at the next meeting.

12. Mr. Rehage reported on the paperback series already published and (with Mr. Shane) on the progress made on the second series (to be published in 1972).

13. The Board authorized the publication of a third series of paperbacks in 1973.

14. The Board established an advisory group on paperbacks to consist of six appointed members and Messrs. Shane, Havighurst, and Rehage.

15. Miss Chall was appointed Chairman of the paperback committee, the appointment to become effective in April 1973, to take over responsibilities now discharged by Mr. Shane and Mr. Havighurst.

16. Mr. Rehage reported that the Society now has tapes on Pressey, Counts, Stoddard, and Conant, as well as of discussions of *Leaders in Education* and the *Curriculum.* Mr. Rehage was authorized to continue exploration of the problems and possibilities of the tape program.

17. The Board voted to increase the dues for membership to $10, effective January 1, 1973.

18. The Secretary noted that arrangements for his retirement should not be longer postponed. The Board appointed Mr. Tyler and Mr. Havighurst to represent it in effecting the change.

II. Meeting of September 30, 1972

The Board of Directors met at 9:00 A.M. on September 30 at the Windermere Hotel (Chicago), with the following members present: Messrs. N. L. Gage, John I. Goodlad (Chairman), Robert J. Havighurst, Harold G. Shane, Ralph W. Tyler, and Kenneth J. Rehage (Secretary). Mr. Richey, the retiring Secretary, also attended.

1. Mr. Richey presented the report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the fiscal year of 1971-72.

2. Mr. Richey reported that the will of Ruth Strang had been probated and that the Society had received something more than $42,000.

3. Mr. Richey recommended that study should be made of the pricing of the Society's yearbooks.

4. The Secretary was authorized to make arrangements for the presentations of the seventy-second yearbook.

5. Progress reports were presented on authorized yearbooks in progress—*Behavior Modification, The Elementary School in the United States, Communication, The Sociology of Education, Teacher Education,* and *The Psychology of Teaching Methods.*

6. It was agreed that members who are major contributors to the paperback series should be considered eligible for nomination to the Board of Directors of the Society.

7. With a view to shortening an unwieldy primary ballot, it was agreed that the Secretary should write to all members eligible for place-

ment on the ballot at regular intervals and delete the names of those who had no objection to having their names removed.

8. The Secretary presented a report on the Expanded Publication Program.

9. Topics suitable for volumes in the paperback series were discussed.

10. It was proposed that tapes related to issues of general interest be prepared with the assistance of well-known authorities who would be asked for their typed comments on those issues.

11. It was suggested that the Society should consider the possibility of a periodic newsletter for distribution to the members.

12. The Board allocated $15,000 for further experimentation with the Expanded Publication Program for a two-year period ending July 11, 1974.

13. The Board established a Commission on Expanded Program—the Commission to consist of four members, one of whom is to be a member of the Board of Directors. The Commission was charged with the responsibility of planning for items to be included in the Expanded Program, with the work to be done in the office of the Chairman of the Commission.

14. The Board voted that future dues statements provide members the option of choosing between two membership categories: (a) *Basic*, with dues at $10, to include the yearbooks only, and (b) *Comprehensive*, with dues at $20, to include yearbooks and a package (paperbacks and/or tapes from the Expanded Program).

15. The next meeting of the Board was tentatively set for March 1, 1973, in New Orleans.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY

1971-72

Receipts and Disbursements

Receipts:	
Membership dues	$ 44,154.22
Sales, royalties, and permissions	42,166.35
Interest and dividends	4,608.48
Transfer from savings	3,025.13
Bequest (Ruth Strang)	40,000.00
Paperbacks (New Series) to be transferred	4,460.50
Transfer and refund	15,020.15
Miscellaneous	65.72
Total	$153,500.55
Disbursements:	
Yearbooks:	
Manufacturing	$ 38,386.06
Reprinting	8,202.47
Preparation	4,278.32
Meetings of the Board and Society	3,312.31
Secretary's Office:	
Editorial, secretarial, and clerical	25,300.93
Other personnel	403.35
Supplies, equipment, and telephone	3,644.35
Promotions	920.75
Miscellaneous:	
Insurance	216.00
Bank charges	113.26
Other	13.00
Transfer and refunds	14,652.99
New Programs	11,403.44
Total	$110,847.23
Excess receipts over disbursements	$ 42,653.32
Cash account, July 1, 1971	3,033.80
Cash account, July 1, 1972	45,687.12

STATEMENT OF CASH AND SECURITIES

As of June 30, 1972

Cash:	
New University National Bank, Chicago, Ill.	
Checking account	$ 45,687.12
Savings account	91.00
Savings and Loan Certificates:	
Chicago Federal Savings and Loan Association	10,000.00
Home Federal Savings and Loan Association	10,000.00
Telegraph Savings and Loan Association	10,000.00
U.S. Government Securities:	
U.S. Government Bonds (H) dated March 1, 1967	15,000.00
U.S. Treasury Notes ($15,000, 7¾%, 1973)	15,043.33
Bonds:	
American Telephone and Telegraph (21,000, 4⅜%, 1985)	14,679.42
Stock:	
First National Boston Corporation (First National Bank of Boston) 57 sh.	2,000.00
Total cash and securities	$122,500.87

Charges Against Current Assets

Annual dues paid for 1973	3,458.75
Charles A. Jones Publishing Co.	4,460.50
Total	$ 7,919.25
Unencumbered assets	$114,581.62

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

[This list includes all persons enrolled November 1, 1972. An asterisk (*) indicates Life Members of the Society.]

Aarestad, Amanda B., 1887 Gilmore Ave., Winona, Minn.
Aaron, Ira Edward, Col. of Educ., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
Abbott, Frank C., Colorado Comm. on Higher Education, Denver, Colo.
Abbott, Samuel Lee, Jr., Plymouth State College, Plymouth, N.H.
Abel, Frederick P., Western Illinois University, Macomb, Ill.
Abel, Harold, Pres., Castleton State Col., Castleton, Vt.
Abelson, Harold H., Sch. of Educ., City University, New York, N.Y.
Ables, Jack B., Orchard Park H.S., Orchard Park, N.Y.
Abramson, David A., 131 Livingston St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Abrahamson, Edward, Prin., Flower Hill School, Huntington, N.Y.
Abrahamson, Stephen, Sch. of Med., Univ. of So. Calif., Los Angeles, Calif.
Abramowitz, Mortimer J., 345 Lakeville Rd., Great Neck, N.Y.
Accetta, Michael A., 225 Aldine Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Achilles, Charles M., 3609 Cherry Log Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
Ackerlund, George C., Southern Illinois Univ., Edwardsville, Ill.
Ackerman, Judy E., 11900 Parklawn Pl., Rockville, Md.
Ackley, James F., 1150 S. Pasadena Rd., Pasadena, Calif.
Adachi, Mitsuo, 5623 Halepa Pl., Honolulu, Hawaii
Adair, Mary R., 11 Civic Center Dr. Apts., East Brunswick, N.J.
Adam, Peter, Box A., N. 10th St., Marion, Iowa
Adams, Ernest L., Box 8102 Acc., Abilene, Tex.
Adams, Gary B., 438 Montecito, Sierra Madre, Calif.
Adams, Gloria, 5550 Fieldston Rd., Bronx, N.Y.
Adams, James A., Asst. Supt., Saginaw, Mich.
Adams, Jeanne P., 132 Azalea St., Oxnard, Calif.
Adams, John, Dept. of Educ., Aurora Col., Aurora, Ill.
Adams, Richard, 77 Sacramento St., Somerville, Mass.
Adams, Virginia, 33 Eastmount Ave., Toronto 6, Ont., Can.
Adatto, Albert, 228—165th Ave., N.E., Bellevue, Wash.
Adelberg, Arthur J., Supt. of Schls., Elmhurst, Ill.
*Adell, James C., 16723 Fernway Rd., Shaker Heights, Ohio
Aden, Robert C., Middle Tennessee St. Univ., Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Adler, Mrs. Leona K., 101 Central Park W., New York, N.Y.
Adolphsen, Louis J., Hinsdale Senior High School, Hinsdale, Ill.
Aho, Mary Zander, University of Texas, El Paso, Tex.
Ahrendt, Kenneth M., 2015 W. 23d St., Corvallis, Oreg.
Aiken, Warren R., 2323 Farleigh Road, Columbus, Ohio
Airasian, Peter, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Akins, Harold S., 1300 High St., Wichita, Kans.
Alabed, Anwar, P.O. Box 1820, Amman, Jordan
Alagna, Agostino A., 478 W. 26th St., Chicago, Ill.
Alberg, Gary L., 1990 Lakeaires Blvd., White Bear Lake, Minn.
Albrecht, Milton C., State Univ. of New York, Buffalo, N.Y.
Albright, Frank S., S. Monticello Rd., Canton, Mo.
Alderman, Donald L., 180 Franklin Corner Rd., Trenton, N.J.
Alessi, Samuel J., 99 Gordon St., Williamsville, N.Y.
Alexander, Burton F., Petersburg High School, Petersburg, Va.

Alexander, Elenora, 3830 Richmond Ave., Houston, Tex.
Alexander, William M., Col. of Educ., Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
Alkin, Marvin C., University of California, Los Angeles, Calif.
Allen, Annabelle, 286 Main St., New Canaan, Conn.
Allen, David, 8437 Truxton Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Allen, D. Ian, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby 2, B.C., Canada
Allen, Dwight W., Sch. of Educ., Univ. of Mass., Amherst, Mass.
Allen, Graham, Coburg Teachers College, Coburg, Melbourne, Australia
Allen, Harold Don, Nova Scotia Tchrs. Col., Nova Scotia, Canada
Allen, Irene A., 1744 Grove Rd., Ypsilanti, Mich.
Allen, James Robert, 1249 Lake Ave., Fort Wayne, Ind.
Allen, Jayne, 5706 Delwood Dr., Austin, Tex.
Allen, John E., 306 Arbour Dr., Newark, Del.
Allen, Ross L., State Univ. College, Cortland, N.Y.
Allen, Sylvia D., P.O. Box 14, Woodbridge, Va.
Allen, Warren G., State Teachers College, Minot, N.Dak.
Allender, Jerome S., 528 W. Sedgwick, Philadelphia, Pa.
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INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION

1. **Purpose.** The purpose of the National Society is to promote the investigation and discussion of educational questions. To this end it holds an annual meeting and publishes a series of yearbooks.

2. **Eligibility to Membership.** Any person who is interested in receiving its publications may become a member by sending to the Secretary-Treasurer information concerning name, title, and address, and a check for $11.00 (includes entrance fee, see item 5), except that graduate students, on the recommendation of a faculty member, may become members by paying $9.00 for the first year of their membership. Dues for all subsequent years are the same as for other members (see Item 4).

Membership is not transferable; it is limited to individuals, and may not be held by libraries, schools, or other institutions, either directly or indirectly.

3. **Period of Membership.** Applicants for membership may not date their entrance back of the current calendar year, and all memberships terminate automatically on December 31, unless the dues for the ensuing year are paid as indicated in item 6.

4. **Duties and Privileges of Members.** Members pay dues of $10.00 annually, receive a clothbound copy of each publication, are entitled to vote, to participate in discussion, and (under certain conditions) to hold office. The names of members are printed in the yearbooks.

Persons who are sixty years of age or above may become life members on payment of fee based on average life-expectancy of their age group. For information, apply to Secretary-Treasurer.

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7. **Distribution of Yearbooks to Members.** The yearbooks, ready prior to each February meeting, will be mailed from the office of the distributor only to members whose dues for that year have been paid. Members who desire yearbooks prior to the current year must purchase them directly from the distributor (see Item 8).

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9. **Yearbooks.** The yearbooks are issued about one month before the February meeting. They comprise from 600 to 800 pages annually. Unusual effort has been made to make them, on the one hand, of immediate practical value and, on the other hand, representative of sound scholarship and scientific investigation.

10. **Meetings.** The annual meeting, at which the yearbooks are discussed, is held, as a rule, in February at the same time and place as the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. Members will be notified of other meetings.

Applications for membership will be handled promptly at any time on receipt of name and address, together with check for $11.00 (or $10.50 for reinstatement). Applications entitle the new members to the yearbook slated for discussion during the calendar year the application is made.

Kenneth J. Rehage, Secretary-Treasurer

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NOTICE: Many of the early yearbooks of this series are now out of print. In the following list, those titles to which an asterisk is prefixed are not available for purchase.

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